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The Shape of Things

WHEN STATESMEN OF SMALL NATIONS VISIT Germany for their health and see "Surgeon" Hitler or his assistant, Ribbentrop, a drastic operation is usually indicated. It would hardly be surprising, therefore, to learn that Premier Philoff of Bulgaria has returned from Vienna with proposals for the grafting of a Nazi army on to the body of his country. During the past week Berlin has kept suspiciously quiet about the Balkans, but its agents in Belgrade, Budapest, and other centers have assiduously spread rumors designed to harass Bulgaria's nerves. And it would appear that these methods are succeeding once again, for there is less talk of resistance in Sofia, although hopes of Russian intervention still linger. The reported recall of Soviet ministers in the Balkans for a conference in Moscow attracted a good deal of attention, but the Kremlin has not broken its loud silence. In Belgrade the Germans are talking confidently about an understanding with the Soviet government, which is said to have agreed to leave Bulgaria in the lurch in return for the Rumanian province of Moldavia and a free hand in Finland. Considering the source, such reports must be taken with a large grain of salt. Nevertheless, it is highly improbable that Russia would go beyond diplomatic support for Bulgaria. There is no reason to suppose that Stalin is any more ready to risk war with Germany than he was when the Nazis marched into Rumania. Nor is he likely to have missed the significance of the Hungarian mobilization, which is undoubtedly the result of orders from Berlin. The only possible reason for this action is to provide protection for the northern flank of the Nazi army facing Bessarabia.

*

SKILLED COORDINATION OF LAND, AIR, AND naval forces have again brought victory to the British in North Africa. The capture of Bardia gives General Wavell's army a strong base from which to pursue Graziani's depleted and dispirited command. Mussolini had ordered that this stronghold should be retained at all costs, and the Italian press is unable to minimize the extent of the defeat. Preparing the public, Giovanni Ansaldo, the well-known Fascist editor, said in a radio speech: "If Bardia has fallen, this will be a new British

success, local if you like, but still a considerable one and a sad piece of news for us." The British forces are now expected to attack the much more important town of Tobruk, where Graziani has been feverishly preparing new defenses. However, the fall of Bardia has come too quickly to afford him time to make the position impregnable, especially as the work has been constantly interrupted by the R.A.F. His chief hope is that the German *Luftwaffe* can send enough planes to check the British, for there is little chance that any appreciable military reinforcements will be able to run the British naval gauntlet in the Mediterranean. German aircraft are reaching Italy in considerable numbers, but it remains to be seen whether there are sufficient fuel reserves in Libya for them to be used there in a decisive fashion.

*

WHY HAVE GERMAN BOMBS BEEN DROPPED on the studiously neutral land of Eire? It has happened too frequently to be a mistake, especially inasmuch as Dublin is a beacon of light in contrast with the darkened shores on the other side of the Irish Sea. Is it a preliminary to invasion, or an attempt to force Eire to take sides, or a taste of the terror to come should the naval bases be yielded to British importunities? The last explanation is the most feasible, but it seems a risky game to play with a people as high-spirited as the Irish. Eire is under increasing economic pressure from Britain, which is limiting severely the allotment of shipping for Irish needs. This brings home the fact that Great Britain is experiencing greater difficulty in coping with the German blockade without the Irish bases which proved so useful in the last war. But there has been no sign that Mr. de Valera's government is considering a reversal of its stand on this question. Continued air raids, however, might disabuse the Irish of their fond hopes of remaining a museum of independent democracy in a Nazi Europe and bring about a sharp change in public opinion, which so far has favored the strict-neutrality policy. While the government of Eire has sent a strong protest to Berlin, it has denied any intention of breaking off diplomatic relations.

*

VERNE MARSHALL, THE LOQUACIOUS GENIUS of the No Foreign War Committee, told the press on December 30 that William Rhodes Davis, wealthy oil magnate, had offered to underwrite his group. He went on to give a strange tale of an "agenda" for peace, initialed by Göring, which was brought back by Davis from Berlin in the fall of 1939. Interviewed in his turn, Mr. Davis refused to say anything about his alleged mission to Germany but released a letter he had written to Senator Wheeler, as chairman of the Senate committee to investigate interferences with the defense program, asking to be allowed a hearing on his relations with foreign governments. We hope Senator Wheeler will gratify this desire promptly, for there are several aspects of Mr. Davis's adventurous and litigious career which demand public illumination. Meanwhile, we note that Mr. Davis and Mr. Marshall, while agreeing in their isolationism, contradict each other on one important detail: the former denied any financial or other connection with the No Foreign War Committee. He also denied the report, mentioned by our Washington editor on November 2, that he financed John L. Lewis's radio indorsement of Wendell Willkie. This report is under investigation by a federal grand jury. Accompanying his letter to Senator Wheeler is an autobiographical sketch which starts a new mystery. Mr. Davis claims that on his mother's side he is "a direct descendant of Cecil Rhodes," famous British imperialist. Standard biographies of Rhodes, however, fail to mention either marriage or children. It is a small point, but unless satisfactorily cleared up it may throw some light on Mr. Davis's credibility as a witness.

*

THE NATION IS IN A POSITION TO DENY THE authenticity of the widely published report that the Reuther plan for producing 500 planes a day has been "reluctantly" rejected by Defense Commission experts. The Associated Press story quoting a "high" but anonymous production expert to that effect was written in good faith, but it has been disavowed by the Defense Commission as neither authorized nor true, and the anonymous expert has yet to come forward in defense of his story. A door-to-door survey made at the offices of the commission in Washington last week, to check all possible sources of the story, from Production Chief Knudsen down to the commission's public-relations man, Robert Horton, elicited a series of denials. Some commission or War Department expert no doubt tried to kill off the Reuther plan with this anonymous and irresponsible story. When Mr. Reuther spoke at an "off-the-record" luncheon given him by the National Press Club in Washington last Friday, he received an enthusiastic reception, and among those who came to hear him were Assistant Secretary of War Patterson, Mr. Knudsen, and Leon Henderson. The news that the United States produced few more than 6,000 military planes last year and will be hard put, with present methods, to build 12,000 this year should stimulate interest in labor's plan to utilize idle automotive capacity for plane production instead of waiting for the construction of new factories.

*

"DOES THE SENATOR HIMSELF CONTEND," Senator Wagner asked Senator Taft on January 2, "that it is a sound policy to give a contract, which is in the nature of a favor from the government, to one who wilfully violates the laws of the nation?" The answer was, "Yes, I do; frankly." Senator Taft gave the answer in the

middle of the long and rambling speech with which he tried to block confirmation of J. Warren Madden's appointment to the Court of Claims. In all but candor the War Department's position seems to be that of Senator Taft. Despite its repeated pledges that defense contracts would be let subject to compliance with the labor laws, the War Department stubbornly insists on giving Henry Ford the much-discussed contract for $1,400,000 worth of midget military cars. Evasive answers were made by Assistant Secretary of War Patterson at a press conference last week when he was asked whether this accorded with the pledges made to labor last September and whether Ford had met the specifications of the contract. Ford's failure to meet specifications would give the War Department an easy way out of its hastily made award. In the meantime, the War Department is again "discussing" the question of whether to insert a clause in future defense contracts stipulating compliance with the labor law. So far, its promises to labor have been worthless.

*

TWO WEEKS AGO IT BECAME KNOWN THAT Francisco Largo Caballero, former Prime Minister of Spain, had been imprisoned with other Spanish Republican leaders in the unoccupied zone of France. A report reaching this country within the last few days indicates that he may already have been delivered to Franco. If the report is true, Caballero's fate is easy to guess; he is not likely to be treated more leniently than was Luis Companys, the former President of Catalonia, who met death by garrotting at the hands of Franco's executioners. It is generally believed that the Spanish dictator would take special satisfaction in executing the seventy-three-year-old labor leader who headed the Popular Front government in the early months of the war. Republican Spain's other two war-time leaders, Señor Giral and Dr. Negrín, are out of reach—in Mexico and London. If Caballero is to be saved it will only be through the swift intervention of other governments, particularly our own. President Batista of Cuba has been credited with bringing about commutation of the death sentences against Rivas Cheriff and Carlos Montilla; certainly a strong protest from the State Department in Washington would have as much effect in this latest case. Nor should the complicity of the Vichy government be overlooked. In its agreement with the Mexican government concerning the transfer of Spanish Republicans to Mexico, the French authorities promised "respect for the lives and liberties of the Spanish refugees, limiting exclusively to crimes of common law having no political significance all extradition measures, and excluding any form of repression save that within the jurisdiction of the French courts." By no possible interpretation could that provision be stretched to permit either the imprisonment of Largo Caballero or his delivery to Franco.

Forestalling Inflation

CURIOUS misconceptions about the basic economic philosophy of the New Deal have been revealed in comments on the new program for monetary control issued by the Federal Reserve System. In some quarters the proposals of Mr. Eccles and his colleagues are being treated as a slap at the Administration and a confession of past errors. This of course is sheer nonsense. Objections may be raised by the Treasury and other government departments to certain details of the Federal Reserve report, but informed supporters of the New Deal will certainly not carp at the general principle that a managed monetary system must restrain inflation as well as combat deflation.

During most of the past eight years our economy has been acting in a sluggish manner which called for stimulants. The New Deal prescription was a mixture of cheap and plentiful credit with government investment to sop up idle savings. It has often been argued that this was the wrong medicine because it failed to restore the patient to ruddy health. It is our belief, however, that full recovery was inhibited because the doctors, attempting to placate the opposition of older and more orthodox practitioners, never increased the dosage sufficiently. All along their critics voiced dire warnings of inflationary complications, refusing to accept the diagnosis of such men as Mr. Eccles, who said just a year ago: "I do not see how it would be possible to have a dangerous general inflation so long as we have a large amount of idle men and unused resources."

The fact that Mr. Eccles now is looking toward an inflationary situation and is seeking stronger powers to forestall the danger does not mean that he has shed his belief in a compensated economy. On the contrary, it means he recognizes a sharp change in conditions which may call for a restriction of stimulants and an injection of sedatives. This change has of course been brought about by the defense program. A year ago the government was engaged in pump-priming by financing civilian projects out of borrowed money on a comparatively modest scale. Today it is pouring money into defense without limits except those imposed by the country's capacity to produce. We have already seen the results in sharply increased production, a steady fall in unemployment, and a considerable expansion in consumer purchasing power. The program is still in its early stages, but before the end of the current year we may well reach a point where excess capacity to produce has shrunk to nominal proportions and the flow of incomes tends to outrun the available supply of goods. At this stage the upward pressure on prices becomes hard to resist, and some means of damping down demand becomes essential if inflation is to be avoided. Various measures are already being taken

by the Administration to check such a development. Efforts are being made to restrain price increases of key commodities and to expand production facilities in those industries which threaten to become bottlenecks.

The control of credit is a necessary complement to these activities. At the present time excess reserves of Federal Reserve member banks amount to $6,620,000,000 and are expected to reach $7,000,000,000 as currency in circulation shrinks after the holiday demand. On this basis a credit expansion in excess of $40 billion is theoretically possible. Under its present powers, the Federal Reserve Board can increase reserve requirements from 22¾ per cent to 26 per cent in central reserve cities, from 17½ per cent to 20 per cent in reserve cities, and from 12 per cent to 14 per cent for country banks. The effect would be to lop about a billion off excess reserves. The Federal Reserve authorities can also resort to "open-market operations" by selling government securities. This would absorb an equivalent amount of excess reserves, but the system's holdings are only about $2,200,000,000, and they cannot be wholly liquidated since they are its main earning asset. Thus the maximum use of present powers would still leave excess reserves at a dangerously high level if the development of an inflationary atmosphere led to a sharp increase in the demand for credit. Moreover, it must be remembered that one of the chief causes of the expansion in excess reserves has been the inflow of gold from abroad, and there is no reason to believe that this movement is at an end.

The principal proposal of the Federal Reserve System is that it should be given power to raise reserve requirements to a maximum of twice the present statutory levels. This power would not necessarily be used all at once, but it would enable excess reserves to be tapered off in accordance with the demands of the situation.

Limitations of space prevent more than brief mention of other suggestions in this report. They include cancelation of the President's power to revalue the dollar further; repeal of the Treasury's power to issue $3,000,000,000 worth of "greenbacks"; repeal of the power to monetize silver; and the neutralizing of future gold imports. We see little to criticize in these proposals, except the last, which would involve borrowing by the Treasury for the purpose of sterilization and would thus impose on the country an unnecessary expense. Nor do we quarrel with the recommendation that "as the national income increases a larger and larger proportion of defense expenses should be met by tax revenues rather than by borrowing." We have been staunch defenders of deficit financing as an aid to recovery, but we agree that "whenever the country approaches a condition of full utilization of its economic capacity . . . the budget should be balanced." It is equally important, however, that the burdens of taxation should be so distributed that they do not hinder full production or add to the cost of necessities.

Victims of Vichy

A REPORT has come to hand which demands immediate publication. It describes the inhuman treatment of Spanish Republicans interned in concentration camps in Algeria and French Morocco and constitutes a shocking indictment of the Vichy government, which is directly responsible. We urge the facts it reveals upon the attention of the government, which has an inescapable duty to use its good offices in Vichy to obtain a mitigation of these horrors. The report reached us through a source in which we place complete confidence. The most significant passages follow:

> With the exception of a certain number who because of their physical weaknesses have been placed in other concentration camps, Spaniards who came to Algeria from Spain at the end of the war and those who came from French concentration camps have been placed in "foreign labor companies" scattered over Morocco and Algeria.
>
> Life in these labor companies is similar to life in prison. Members sleep in shacks without beds. Each one has a *chilaba* to wear and two narrow cotton coverlets for the cold desert nights. They are waked up before dawn by the bugler, formed into companies, and marched to their tasks, often many kilometers away. They labor on railroad construction under a burning sun with a temperature that often in the summer reaches 69 degrees centigrade. They are given a stint that must be finished; if they fail, they are placed in disciplinary battalions. In these they are guarded by armed native soldiers and subjected to all kinds of mistreatment. They are insulted and beaten mercilessly for the slightest infraction of the rules, even for stopping work a second when exhausted by the heat and the killing pace. These districts are poorly supplied with food and water, and sanitary measures are virtually non-existent.
>
> Medical aid is in the hands of recently demobilized military doctors who have hired themselves out to the private company in charge of the construction on which the refugees work. Often there is a conflict between the professional duty of these doctors and their employer's interest; it is difficult for a refugee laborer to get permission to stay away from work however sick he may be. One Spaniard with a bad heart was forced to work and fell dead on the job.
>
> The punishments meted out to the prisoners are unworthy of a civilized nation. One of them consists in tying the prisoner's hands together with a rope the other end of which is tied to a horse's tail; the horse is then made to run with increasing speed until the prisoner falls and is dragged through the desert sand. Another consists in forcing a prisoner into a barrel which is then rolled down a hill. In the "punishment of the tomb," the most ferocious of all, the man under discipline is forced to dig a grave; he is then made to lie motionless in the grave for several days, exposed to the heat of the

sun and the cold of the night, under the constant vigilance of an armed native, and not allowed to alter his position in the slightest, even for the demands of nature.

A complaint or a request though made in the most courteous tone is quickly punished; many a Spaniard has found himself in the disciplinary battalions after he asked for a favor for himself or an ailing friend.

The plight of the Spanish Republican refugees in France was miserable enough before the Vichy regime took over. But today these men—the vanguard of the democratic resistance—are treated like convicts by the latest victims of fascist aggression.

Most of the people imprisoned in North Africa are professional men—doctors, teachers, and writers. Some could make their way to safe territory if the French authorities would allow them their freedom and if they could get valid travel papers. Neither is now possible. Several of them—men who have been demanded by Franco—are being held pending extradition hearings. Others are detained, ironically enough, as a result of the Vichy-Mexican agreement providing for the shipment of Spanish refugees to Mexico. Vichy will grant no exit permits until a ship is sent and the Mexican government is prepared to issue a blanket visa. Meanwhile the refugees continue to suffer not only the hardships of unjustifiable imprisonment, but also punishments and cruelties which would be inexcusable if they were dangerous criminals instead of innocent men and courageous anti-fascists.

Stale Lies and a New Trick

WE DO not have the space at this time to disentangle and answer all the stale lies and shabby calumnies rehashed in the final report of the Smith committee. But we should like to make two points before the report is used as a springboard for Congressional oratory in favor of amending the Wagner Act out of existence. The first deals with the committee's procedure in writing and publishing its report; the second, with that report's most revealing omission.

A great deal is said in the report about "the American way of life." The National Labor Relations Board, for example, is accused of "seeking to legalize as part of the American way of life the infamous anarchistic sit-down strikes." We should have supposed that a basic principle of that "American way of life" was a readiness to let the other fellow have a hearing. Yet nowhere in the committee's published final report, filling fifty-one triple-columned pages, will one find any reference to the fact that it does not represent the views of the entire committee, that the committee of five was split three to two on these findings, and that the two minority members disagree completely with the report.

The committee's majority of three dared make no reference to the existence of a dissenting minority. To have done so might the sooner have called attention to the unprincipled way in which the report was prepared. The three members of the majority, Chairman Smith and Representatives Halleck and Routzohn, kept the preparation of the report a secret from the two members of the minority, Representatives Arthur D. Healey and Abe Murdock, the latter now a Senator. These two were given no opportunity to make their own views heard. The filing of the report was delayed until four days before the close of the session, leaving the minority insufficient time to prepare a dissenting report. When Representatives Healey and Murdock asked the House for permission to submit their report after the close of the session, they found that technical rules denied them the opportunity. The minority intends to file a report of its own in the near future, but this report will have no formal status, and the official printed record of the Smith committee will contain no indication that there was a dissenting opinion. *The Nation* believes that the House of Representatives owes it to itself formally to rebuke Chairman Smith and Congressman Halleck (Routzohn was defeated for re-election) for this sort of underhanded procedure.

As significant as the committee's unwillingness to allow free discussion among its own members is its failure to answer the most important of the five questions originally put to it by the House. "What effect," the House wanted the Smith committee to find out, "has the National Labor Relations Act had upon increasing or decreasing disputes between employer and employee?" In all the 153 columns of type which make up the report there is but one sentence answering this question. Had the committee been able to bring forward evidence that the Wagner Act had increased the number of labor disputes, it would have had a powerful argument for amendment of the act, even for its repeal. The best the report can do is to say, "The committee finds that the solicitation of litigation by the board, the favoritism displayed by it toward the C. I. O., and the deliberate use of dilatory methods have induced and protracted a large number of industrial disputes." This is loose and irresponsible statement. The three members who make up the majority did not dare to go into the facts because the facts prove that the Wagner Act has lessened the number of industrial disputes. The facts demonstrate that the best way to cut down the number of strikes is to accord legal recognition to the right of collective bargaining. The three members of the majority were anxious not to uncover these facts but to conceal them.

The facts are well summarized in the statement rushed into print by the two members of the minority when they learned that a Smith committee report had been released.

In the year 1940 there were fewer strikes than in any other year since 1935, fewer workers involved in strikes than in any other year since 1932, and fewer man-days idle because of strikes than since 1930. "The stabilizing influence of the [Wagner] act," Senator Murdock and Representative Healey declare, "is being clearly demonstrated during the current defense program. When this country entered its last great rearmament period in 1916, it was handicapped by chaotic industrial relations. During the five months June through October, 1916, there were nearly one and one-half times as many workers involved in strikes as during the same months in 1940, despite the fact that there were only four-fifths as many persons employed during that earlier period." Only two serious stoppages of work have occurred in defense industries, and neither of these was a major strike. Ten working days were lost in the Vultee strike and four working days in the Aluminum Company plant at New Kensington. How dare the three-man majority of the Smith committee end their report by saying that "the entire program of national defense" is jeopardized by enforcement of the Wagner Act? The Wagner Act alone makes it possible for workers to win in the courts what they formerly could have obtained only on the picket line.

President Roosevelt Reports

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE President's message to Congress on the state of the nation was really a report on the state of the world. It repeated, with effect and force, the substance of his radio talk a week earlier, and expanded it a little. But it failed to lay down specifications for additional aid to England or tell the new session exactly what he wants it to do in the matter of our defense program. Doubtless concrete proposals will come later in special messages, especially in the budget message this week. Until then we can only guess how many billions'-worth of planes, tanks, and guns are to be lent or rented to Britain, and just what "sacrifices" in the form of taxes will be demanded of the American people. We can be certain, however, that the billions will be many and the taxes heavy, for the President announced with absolute intransigence the determination of the government to back to the limit "those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression," and never "to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers." Those are strong words, stronger and more direct, I think, than any he has spoken before. They seal the future of this country against plans now hatching in and out of Washington to limit our aid to England and to encourage a negotiated settlement on the basis of Hitler's present gains and his announced plans for a new European order.

Perhaps we can afford to wait for the specifications while we digest this sober and fateful commitment. It will arouse fierce opposition in the ranks of the isolationists because it surely implies that if American guns and tanks and planes fail to produce a decent peace, American armed force will help finish the job. This the President did not say, and I am sure he believes that only if we allow our non-belligerent efforts to slacken will war be forced upon us. The fact remains that even with all the speed and energy and efficient planning demanded by the President from every branch of American industry, the British and their allies may face defeat. If the President's words mean anything, we would fight to prevent that defeat—and the fascist peace that would follow it.

I stress this possible alternative because I believe it must be accepted as real and then used, not as an argument for inaction, but rather as a spur to a more intensive effort to pour weapons into Britain's arsenals. I stress it for another reason: We are all tempted to talk about the future in terms of a possible fascist victory. (This slightly perverse indulgence is one which particularly fascinates theorists, as readers of the three-cornered debate in this issue of *The Nation* will discover.) We consider ways of guarding our interests and those of this hemisphere in a world otherwise dominated by totalitarian powers. Or we consider the inner adjustments that will be necessary if we are to be able to compete successfully with a fascist Europe. Or we worry about the "time" that would be permitted us to prepare for an inevitable conflict. The President's formulation of American policy consigns such speculations to the realm of fantasy. We will not acquiesce in a fascist peace; we will prevent it if we have the power to do so. This means that no interlude will be permitted for more intensive rearming, no opportunity given for experiments in adaptation. Either the Nazis and their lesser allies will be stopped or they will conquer us along with the other resolute peoples who are resisting them. If they are victorious, our forms of "adaptation" will be determined for us and our arms will be taken away.

The only interlude we can count upon is the present period of British resistance. With our unstinted and efficient help that may be extended to the point of final victory; and we may be spared the agony of battle. But if we withhold the fullest measure of assistance we shall not only not spare ourselves the danger of active involvement; we shall precipitate ourselves into the conflict surely and promptly and in a state of miserable unreadiness. In any case let us forswear speculations about the effect on our own fortunes of a fascist victory in Europe: there can be no fascist victory until we too are defeated. This, whether he intended it or not, is the ultimate logic of the President's message.

Munichman from Montana

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 4

SENATOR WHEELER was dressed in the costume favored by statesmen—cutaway and gray striped trousers. When I went in he was sitting behind the small desk at which he works. As the conversation warmed up he rose and walked round and round the room, twirling his silver-rimmed spectacles in one hand with the solemnity of a college dean. He spoke of the huge volume of mail he received after his "peace" speech. He said that the network over which he broadcast had only a tenth as many stations as that over which the President spoke Sunday night. He thought the President probably had not received more than twice as much mail as he did. These comparative figures gave him great satisfaction. I began by saying that *The Nation* wanted me to ask him just how he envisaged a negotiated peace at this time.

The Senator replied by remarking that he thought the President ought to try to bring about peace. He did not agree with colleagues like Senator Clark who believed that Mr. Roosevelt's strongly anti-Axis speeches made it impossible for him to act as a mediator. Senator Wheeler also thought that before giving more aid to Great Britain we ought to know what its war aims were. Last time there had been Versailles, and Versailles had created Hitler. Could one, after the events of the past few years, expect a Hitler peace to be anything more than a breathing spell for new aggressions? "Let us assume," Senator Wheeler said, "that we can't believe Nazis promises." Nevertheless, peace now was better than continued slaughter.

He did not think the English could win. "I am one of those who don't want to see England annihilated," he said, but those who are encouraging the British to resist by intimating that we are going to enter the war are doing them a disservice. He was convinced the President would take us into the war if he could. He thought it doubtful that a resolution declaring war could be put through Congress. "I think Congress has gone just about as far as it will go along that line." Unless we enter the war the British, in his opinion, could not win, and there was a question in his mind as to whether we could. In order to defeat Germany we should have to land troops on the Continent. Every military and naval expert he had talked to—and he had talked to many—agreed on that point. "If Germany can't land troops twenty-two miles across the Channel," the Senator said, "it isn't likely that we can land troops on the Continent." Only an alliance of Russia, the United States, and England, he added, could defeat Germany.

"Consequently," he said, "Russia and the United States could do a great deal to bring about peace in Europe, perhaps not a just peace from the standpoint of England, or of Germany or Italy for that matter, but surely the effort should be made." Some day there was going to be a negotiated peace. Almost every peace had been a negotiated peace. Why not try for one now? I suggested that Hitler had been underestimated here and abroad from the beginning. Wasn't it about time to begin to take him at face value? Hitler said he wanted to rule the world. "This talk about Hitler wanting to dominate the world, as he expounded it in 'Mein Kampf,' " the Senator answered, "doesn't impress me any more than did the boasts of Lenin and Trotsky a few years ago that they were going to make a world revolution. These are fantastic boasts by unpractical egotists. Japan boasts that she's going to rule the world. There are people in the United States who think that we, or at least the English-speaking peoples, should dominate the world."

"I appreciate the fact," the Senator continued, "that some fanatics who want to get us into war right away will brand me a Laval or something worse for what I have said. In some high circles there seem to be people who have the idea that those who are talking peace should be intimidated." We were not a totalitarian power, and some people talking blithely of tolerance and democracy were at the same time using "the very methods that Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini used to maintain themselves in power." Those howling down the advocates of peace were "intolerant to the *nth* degree." They were breeding intolerance and racial and religious hatreds, which were always the forerunner of the destruction of democratic ideals. He had been attacked for his anti-war views by a Polish-American paper. He wasn't worried about what was going to happen to the Poles. He was concerned with what might happen to Americans. He had told some of his friends—he named some close Jewish advisers who share his isolationist views—that the backwash of the current hysteria was a rising tide of anti-Semitism. He feared a really virulent anti-Semitism if we became involved in the war. He wished some of the Jews in New York would have sense enough to keep their mouths shut. He felt they were being used by politicians for their own ends.

What kind of peace did the Senator think we could get? Would he take peace at any price? What would he consider terms impossible to accept? Well, he had been in Europe, and he felt then as he did now that a United

States of Europe was the only way out. Did he think we could get a United States of Europe from Hitler? "I don't know," the Senator replied, "I'm not in his confidence. But there can be nothing lost in trying to bring about peace. Every American citizen from the President down ought to be working toward that end." Wouldn't a negotiated peace merely be an armed truce? "That," said the Senator, "is just a guess." Didn't he think the guess had some pretty good grounds after the events of the past few years? I didn't get an answer.

England, said the Senator, was opposed to a United States of Europe. "I don't think Hitler today would accept one either," he added. "Any peace in Europe," Senator Wheeler said, "has got to be based on letting the ordinary man live. That wasn't done when the Versailles treaty was written. I don't know that it can be done under Hitler." The Senator felt that peace could have been obtained in September, 1939, if Poland had given up Danzig, the Polish Corridor, and Silesia. He felt that the United States would be in a stronger moral position today if it had brought about peace then on those terms, and I kept coming back to, and the Senator kept getting away from, the issue of whether Hitler's signature on a peace treaty would be worth anything. The Senator said he thought we had to trust someone, that we had got along with tyrants in the past and would have to do so again in the future. If Britain was our first line of defense, he said, then we ought to go into the war immediately. But we weren't ready for war. High army and navy officers afraid to speak publicly had told him we weren't prepared. "The President," they said, "won't listen to us." The British, the Senator declared, were in a bad way. British labor's morale wouldn't hold up much longer. Wages were too low. "Talk about freedom," the Senator asked, "what of India, what of Hongkong?" By this time his secretary was at his elbow.

Who Owns the Future?

LETTERS BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, LAWRENCE DENNIS, AND MAX LERNER

[*We are glad to give space to the following comments on the future of American democracy by an intellectual defeatist, a champion of dictatorship, and a democrat. The correspondence was originally an exchange of letters between Mr. Dennis and Professor Schuman. Mr. Lerner, to whom the letters were shown, thought they threw a curious light on current thought processes and obtained permission to make them public along with his own reaction. We agree with Mr. Lerner's view of their importance and even more with his analysis.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Will to Survive

DEAR LAWRENCE DENNIS: Your last book, "The Dynamics of War and Revolution," is in all respects a most important one for anyone attempting to think through the world revolution in which we find ourselves. I have been considering writing you for some time to pay tribute to the insight and foresight you display in it, as in "The Coming American Fascism" and elsewhere, and to resume our old debate on a new level.

You will no doubt agree that if the fall of France confirmed part of your thesis, the reaction of America to the events of last summer demonstrates, contrary to your expectation and mine, that Americans can probably no longer be brought to fight for "democracy," or "England," or "foreigners," or any symbol or faith or cause of any kind —unless their hemisphere is invaded by armed force, their cities bombed, and their houses burned over their heads. And even in this case I suspect that many people in Maine, let's say, would be in favor of "keeping out of California's wars" and vice versa. The causes for this attitude have obviously nothing to do with the reasons you adduce so eloquently in support of an isolationist policy, but have to do with what looks very much like the sheer stupidity, cowardice, demoralization, and irresponsibility of a community already decadent.

To me it is clear—and if you will face honestly the strategic problem posed for America by contemporary *Realpolitik* you will, I think, agree—that the defenses of America were and still are in Western Europe. I was booed at Town Hall last March for saying that our frontier was on the Rhine. As soon as that frontier fell, our isolationist Congress frantically began pouring billions of dollars down the sewer in an effort at "defense" which is foredoomed to futility. The British fleet is the last remaining barrier between an invincible totalitarian war machine and an utterly indefensible Western Hemisphere. This is a simple fact of strategy and has nothing to do with ideologies or systems or causes or moral values. It is a problem of power. And this problem of power the government and people of this republic are clearly unwilling to face and unable to meet in any adequate fashion. Because of their irrational sympathies they will not "abandon" Europe and Asia—and also most of Latin America, which is economically, culturally, and strategically a dependency of Europe and not of the

United States—and gird their loins to save themselves within an area where salvation might be a military possibility. Because of their irrational fears they will not go to war to save their outer defenses by smashing Germany and Japan. In purely material terms America, plus what is left of Britain, could of course smash Germany and Japan, and if there were sufficient vitality left in either country to offer promise of survival such a course would have been embarked upon long since. Either of these policies would "make sense" and save a good deal from the wreckage. Neither is within the realm of the politically possible.

The second course is "out" because the average American recoils in horror from the thought of fighting and insists upon constant reassurances from his political leaders that he will never have to fight. He is afraid to fight because he no longer knows what is worth fighting for. And since he no longer knows what is worth fighting for, he won't know what to fight for or what not to fight for in the Western Hemisphere or even in North America any more than he knows what to fight for or what not to fight for in Europe and Asia. He and his fellows will therefore repeat the appalling blunders of the British and French, who should have fought for Czechoslovakia and didn't, as you so ably point out, and who a year later fought for Poland when the game was already lost. By the same logic of illogic Americans wouldn't fight to save the Rhine frontier and may not fight to save the British fleet, though both of these strategic assets could have been saved by fighting in time. They will probably make a Munich and then fight later to save Brazil or the Philippines or Greenland or Venezuela or God-knows-what under strategic conditions which will insure defeat.

The first course, for which you could make out a far better case than Charlie Beard if you put your mind to it, is also "out" because, as you say, "it calls for a continuing exercise over European destinies which we are neither able to make nor willing to undertake." I deny that we are "unable" to do this. America was in a position to remake Europe and the world in 1919 and again in 1939, but it couldn't because it wouldn't. I agree that we are "unwilling." But this is not a defect of our collective power. It is a defect of our collective wisdom and our collective will.

All of this is symptomatic of a deep-seated *malaise* and raises issues which are far more fundamental than those of "isolationism" or "interventionism." The basic issue raised is nothing less than that of the capacity for survival of those who are unwilling to abandon old habits in the face of new dangers.

I concur whole-heartedly that "the two needs of tomorrow's revolutionary leadership are, first, understanding of the situation and, second, a will to meet it. Hitler's revolutionary genius has consisted in understanding since the war, as no liberal democratic leaders anywhere have understood, that capitalism is doomed, and in having always a will to do concrete things about it."

The West—by which I mean here everybody west of the Rhine—has lost all capacity to understand and act. No amount of pleading that "suicide is morally wrong" offers hope of reform. The trouble with your ethics and your politics—if you will permit me to say so, not as a carping critic or as a bankrupt liberal, but as a sincere admirer of your "realism"—is that you are still addicted to Bismarck's thesis (which is a liberal thesis) that politics is the art of what is "possible" and to John Dewey's thesis (which is bankrupt pragmatism) that rules of ethics should "work." The central difficulty here is that the things which are possible and the rules which work depend upon human foresight and will-power. Hitler has accomplished the impossible by virtue of these qualities. The West cannot even contemplate things which are perfectly possible because it lacks these qualities.

I agree that "revolution" might save us—or save something or somebody. But I'd like to pose the issue a bit differently and solicit your comments on my formulation, if you care to comment. We have first to disentangle ourselves from useless vocabulary. I note that you have substituted the term "socialism" for the term "fascism" to describe the coming order. Perhaps it is better, but both terms are so charged with irrelevant emotional overtones that I wish we could find purely factual descriptive words devoid of all moralistic or ideological connotations. That is difficult. Oswald Spengler's vocabulary, however, possesses the advantages of ethical neutrality and historical perspective. Let us grant, to use his terminology, that "capitalism" and "democracy" are doomed by the rise of "Caesarism." The state form of tomorrow is "Caesarism" with all that this implies in social and economic terms. Caesarism means both "socialism"—that is, military totalitarianism resting on a dynamic faith and a will to action—and "internationalism"—that is, the end of national sovereignty in favor of a world state or a small number of world empires. Both are necessary for the survival of Western civilization in the age of its fulfilment and decline. Both will come because both must come. Obviously both are coming. This, to Spengler, is "destiny"—that is, a product of laws of growth within a culture over which the people who comprise that culture and who imagine that they are the captains of their fate really have no control at all. This is simply another and better way of saying what many have long since said, first of all the Marxists: that the machine and the Industrial Revolution have created a set of circumstances throughout the Western world, and indeed all over the planet, in which the old patterns of competitive capitalism and individual initiative on the one hand and of national sovereignty and international power politics on the other are no longer compatible with what people want and need in an industrialized world society.

It seems to me that your statement of the "inevitability" of "socialism" is as effective as your neglect of the inevitability of "internationalism" is deplorable. I am convinced that the Western state system and the whole game of balance-of-power politics among national sovereignties is already at an end and that we face the advent of a world-state in some form or other, or at least of a community of great continental imperiums which may fight one another until the most powerful has finally imposed its will on its rivals and created a world imperium. This appears to me as inevitable as socialism. It is for this reason that Wilson was as "great"—that is, as cognizant of what must be—as Lenin, albeit he was less successful, and as the pan-German world conquerors who influenced the Kaiser, albeit he was more successful. And it is for this reason that, on paper at least, Clarence Streit and Adolf Hitler are also brothers under the skin. Both know that national sovereignty is dying and that the world must be united. I therefore quarrel with you when you say that the revolution "has to be carried out by each nation." Hitler is giving the coup de grâce not only to capitalism but also to the whole system of sovereign nation-states. His genius lies in his capacity to undertake both tasks simultaneously and successfully. Lenin also saw that the two tasks were inseparable. Wilson did not; Streit does not. The Western democracies cannot unify the world or impose their hegemony upon it, despite the enormous superiority of potential power at their disposal, because they are wedded to a decadent capitalism and are inhibited and paralyzed by the products of its decay from doing anything which is relevant or constructive or heroic. The same was true of the Athenians in the time of Demosthenes. You oppose Streit because "it can't be done." But you fail to state clearly why it can't be done. The "why" has nothing to do with "haves" and "have-nots" or with any question of 240,000,000 white British, French, and Americans versus 400,000,000 Germans, Russians, Japanese, and Italians. Numbers count for nothing. Fanatic faith, even in what "can't be done" counts for everything. Western liberals have no such faith. Communists once had it. Nazis have it now.

It seems to me unrealistic in the extreme to suppose that America is outside the stream of history or can be unconcerned with what other power groups do to one another on other continents. A dynamic America, joined to a dynamic Britain and France either through a military alliance or Union Now, could have imposed its will on all the world by force and brought unity to the planet, but it wouldn't and won't and can't for reasons already indicated. Therefore others who are eager to do the job and can do the job will do the job, and America will be *gleichgeschaltet* or take the consequences. By that I mean that America will continue to be formless and feckless and decadent, without faith or will to act, in which case America will be conquered; *or* America will also go "socialist" (totalitarian) and "internationalist" (imperialist) and clash with other totalitarian imperialisms, the fittest surviving and the devil taking the hindmost.

The issue of our day, in short, is who will do the job. Liberals have failed. The Nazis are succeeding. Liberals have demonstrated complete incapacity either to do the job themselves or to prevent the Nazis from doing it. Matters have now reached a pass at which nothing will save them or the communities in which they flourish except Union Now right away—meaning an immediate alliance for immediate war by a dynamic and revolutionized America and a dynamic and revolutionized British Empire. If the dynamism and the revolution could be conjured up out of the vasty deep, the arms and the material resources still at the disposal of the prospective allies could defeat Germany, Italy, and Japan, win Russian support (since the Russians respect strength), and remake the world in a fashion which might be preferable (to you and me as Americans) to the fashion in which the Nazis will remake it. But this of course is academic, since the dynamism and the revolution are not materializing in time and nothing of the sort is likely to happen. Britain may therefore go down, and America will be left alone with a hopeless problem of "national defense."

The question will then arise of who will do the job here. Perhaps nobody. In that case we shall become the booty of the conqueror. If the job is done, it will be done by those willing and able to do it. These do not include Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie or the New Dealers or the liberals or the business men. If no leadership emerges from the ranks of those who know what must be done, then it may emerge from among the Joe McWilliamses, the Father Coughlins, the Kluxers, the Holy Rollers, or some other group of fanatics who know or think they know what they want and how to get it. And this prospect bothers me, as the conquest of Europe and the world by the Nazis bothers me, not because of moralistic or humanitarian scruples, which I quite agree have nothing to do with the case, but because I lack confidence in the ultimate capacity of the new barbarians to complete wisely the job they have begun successfully. And if they can't complete it, the end will be utter chaos for everybody. A new dynamic élite, more farsighted, catholic, and "civilized" and less provincial, narrow, and neurotic, would offer a better hope. But perhaps it is the tragedy of our time that the "civilized" are ever doomed to frustration and that action is possible only for the barbarians.

My job under these conditions is no longer to try to get America into a war which is probably already lost and which Americans wouldn't get into even if it weren't. And your job is no longer to keep Americans out of such a war, since the pacifist and isolationist idiots are doing this job for you. Our job is either to retire into our respective ivory towers and await the Ice Age or else

to do what we can to develop realism and leadership among those, if any, still capable of understanding the twentieth century and acting upon its imperatives. Personally I feel baffled, since I find little evidence among my fellow-citizens of any capacity for realism or leadership. I am therefore occupied with my writing, which at least affords certain intellectual satisfactions and will leave a more or less interesting record of the death of a world.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

The Party-State and the Elite

DEAR SCHUMAN: I am flattered by your searching letter in which is expressed so much appreciation of my book "The Dynamics of War and Revolution." It takes clear thinking and writing to formulate debatable issues between us when we have so much in common in method, attitude, and conclusions. So far as I am concerned, the purpose of clarifying these issues is mainly self-improvement. After all, we are critical of the times rather than of each other; we are exchanging notes rather than trying to convert each other.

In general, I entirely agree with you that the American people won't fight for "democracy, or England, or foreigners, or any symbol or faith or cause of any kind—unless their hemisphere is invaded by armed force, their cities bombed, and their houses burned over their heads." And then, if they do fight, it will be too late because they will be in an advanced state of disintegration. Hitler would not attack us unless we had become a push-over by reason of internal dissension and decay. I agree further that the causes for this attitude are mainly, though not exclusively, to use your words, "the sheer stupidity, cowardice, demoralization, and irresponsibility of a community already decadent."

Here, however, on a relatively minor tangent, I deviate from your synthesis. We both agree that American culture and the American people are now decadent. Only I hasten to qualify this dictum by adding that American culture is capitalism, and that it is only because capitalism is in collapse that American culture is in collapse. I then go on to say that a people as favored as we with natural resources, geographical isolation from potential invaders, and sheer size in almost every measurable term, can again become dynamic under another system and need not flounder long between the departed glories of capitalism and the glories of a new revolutionary 'ism, whatever may be its name—and I am not one to boggle over definitions. Russia and China, besides our good selves, appear to me to be the only peoples sufficiently favored in respect to the power factors to be able to rise from the collapse of one system to the glories of a successor without being crushed by a foreign conqueror during the collapse phase.

So when you say that the defenses of America were and still are in Western Europe or that our frontier is on the Rhine, I side with you against the audience that booed you at Town Hall last March for saying this. But I hasten to add the following qualifications, which few Americans are aware of: (1) America is capitalism; wherefore whenever and wherever capitalism and anti-capitalism clash America is involved; wherefore the frontier of capitalism is the frontier of America; wherefore America must be at war with Germany, the chief anti-capitalist power now challenging capitalism. (2) If the American people were alive to their best interests they would not equate America with capitalism, a doomed system, but they would abandon the doomed system and seek to develop a successor which could survive the current phase. (3) The American people will not be made aware of their true interest in this respect until they have suffered far more than they have ever suffered up to now.

You say: "The British fleet is the last remaining barrier between an invincible totalitarian war machine and an utterly indefensible Western Hemisphere. This is a simple fact of strategy and has nothing to do with ideologies or systems or causes or moral values." I can't agree. If America had a dynamic culture for this era, a culture which would have to be some variant of an expansive totalitarian collectivism directed by a non-hereditary functional élite, then the Western Hemisphere would be far more secure than either Russia or Japan against Hitler.

You think America and Britain should and could smash Germany and Japan, but you correctly recognize that the American people have no kidney for the enterprise. You don't seem to recognize that there may be a good reason why the American people are not willing to fight Germany and Japan for capitalism, that is, Americanism, and that that reason may be that they do not really find capitalism worth the necessary sacrifices. They won't admit it, of course, but actions speak louder than words.

You are wrong, I think, about this being preeminently a strategic problem and not one of ideologies or systems. You would have had America form with Britain after the war a combination in perpetual restraint of Germany and Japan. You forget that capitalism, or Americanism, furnishes no ideological or moral imperative for such a combination. A great people cannot fight a major war or hold to a major line of foreign policy like Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, really nothing more than an Anglo-Saxon combination in restraint of aggressors against the status quo, without an appropriate ideology and ethos. If capitalism had been true, Hitler and the fall of France could not have happened.

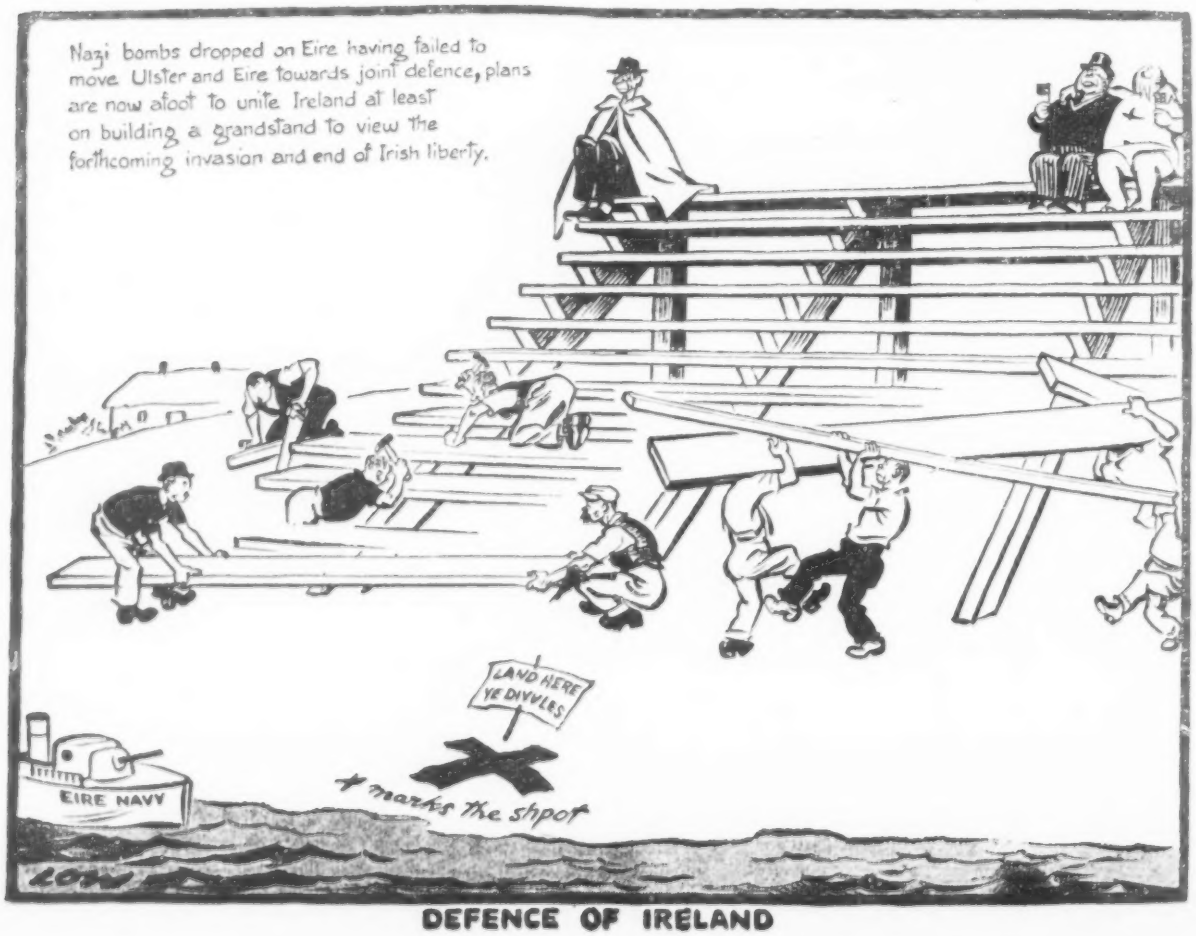
I disagree, therefore, with you that we were stupid and blind not to combine with the British plutocracy in restraint of the aggressors against the status quo. I agree with you that we are following a policy which can only culminate disastrously for us because the policy is neither fish nor fowl, or because it is founded on many patent

fallacies. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, is following a foreign policy which will continue to enhance Russian territorial possessions and political strength. The explanation is not that the Russian people are less stupid than the American people. The explanation is that the Russian people have a domestic economy and a foreign policy appropriate to the current phase of the struggle for existence and that the American people have not. Intelligence and character in pursuing the wrong policy will merely accelerate the career to destruction.

Then, as you go on, I find our views again converging. You express agreement with me "that the two needs of tomorrow's revolutionary leadership are, first, understanding of the situation and a will to meet it." But you would have met the situation during the past few years by a combination with Britain to check the foes of capitalism, whereas I have said that it is futile to fight anti-capitalism or to fight for capitalism and that the thing to do is to scuttle capitalism for a system under which a people can today meet the requirements for survival in the struggle for existence. Capitalism is a system which today picks Chamberlains, Reynauds, and Willkies for its leaders, and fiscal equilibrium and more freedom for business for its battle-cry in the domestic sphere and "Down with the anti-capitalists" for its battle-cry in the foreign sphere. It isn't good enough. Therefore the anti-capitalists are bound to win out in the long run, and it may not be so long.

You say, "The West—by which I mean everybody west of the Rhine—has lost all capacity to understand and act." Then you attack my "realism" or "pragmatism," which you find of a piece with that of Bismarck, Dewey and the liberals—the pragmatism that says politics is the art of the possible. You say that Hitler has achieved the impossible by virtue of human foresight and will-power. Aren't we here arguing over words rather than things? You are no more than I a believer in the supernatural. You are a believer in the super-traditional and the super-stupid. You would not, I believe, argue that any amount of faith, or fanaticism, or foresight, or will-power could have averted the crash of 1929 or the depression of the thirties. Hitler has accomplished not only the possible but what was logically indicated for a German leader to attempt. The leaders of the democracies have attempted only the obviously impossible and logically absurd, such as balancing the budget over here or doing Munich in September and guaranteeing Poland in April over there. The totalitarians are the rationalists, the democracies the irrationalists, these days.

The American faith, as you know, is essentially faith in a perpetual land boom. Nothing can revitalize that faith once the population curve which made the land


Nazi bombs dropped on Eire having failed to move Ulster and Eire towards joint defence, plans are now afoot to unite Ireland at least on building a grandstand to view the forthcoming invasion and end of Irish liberty.
LAND HERE YE DIVVLES
EIRE NAVY
X marks the spot
LOW

DEFENCE OF IRELAND

boom for two centuries begins to flatten out. Faith in God is much better as a folkway than a faith in America or a faith in capitalism, which is essentially just faith in an eternal land boom. As there never can be objective proof of the existence of a God, so there can never be objective disproof of his existence. But faith in a perpetual land boom once had a basis in fact which is now being destroyed.

I accept your definition of the new revolution as the rise of a new Caesarism. I agree further that the new revolution is antithetical to the ideas, values, and procedures of nationalism, as we have known it since the Reformation. I cannot, however, go along with you in saying that a world-state is the logical or likely culmination of the prevailing trend. I agree that the extinction of the myriad small nations and the integration of the world into a few great systems are probably both inevitable and desirable for the welfare of the world masses. Personally, I share your predilection for a single, universal world order as a philosophical ideal. But I do not consider it inevitable or likely.

When I said that the revolution must be carried out by each nation, I should have added that I had in mind Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan. I concur 100 per cent that Hitler is giving the coup de grâce to the sovereign national state, to nationalism as well as to capitalism. He is creating a new sovereign, along with Stalin—the sovereign Socialist Party, membership in which is the only significant citizenship. I agree with you that Clarence Streit and Hitler are brothers under the skin. Only I believe that Streit wants an Anglo-Saxon union to preserve the status quo and the property rights of the haves, which I deem impossible, whereas Hitler wants a Germanic union to aggrandize his party community, which I deem possible. *The new community is to be the party-state instead of the nation-state.* It has to be a larger community than that of any state smaller than say Germany or the United States. But it does not have to be a single, all-embracing, world party-state.

If Hitler conquers Britain, as I expect, and continues cooperative relations with the other dynamic totalitarians, as I also expect, events on this side of the Atlantic may conform to one of the following patterns: we may embark upon long-range military adventures in the Far East or Latin America with disastrous consequences, or we may merely string along with the defense hysteria, raising taxes, lowering living standards, disrupting our traditional social order, accentuating class struggle, discouraging private enterprise, paralyzing investor confidence, and generally demoralizing the people with the pursuit of a military policy intended to stop Hitler but calculated only to stop American progress. In either course of events we shall have disintegration and revolution. Hitler would probably intervene in the revolution just as the Bourbons intervened in the American Revolution. As Lenin said, every revolutionist is a traitor. I am far more worried about what Americans are going to do to Americans in the next few years than about what Hitler is going to do to us. Hitler will be able to do us in only if and after we have done ourselves in by class war and foolish policies.

As you say, "the issue of our day, in short, is who will do the job"—the job of making the new order. I share your misgivings about the new barbarians. Only I feel a little more sanguine over the prospects of men of brains and good impulses sharing the direction of things in the new order. I agree with you that, for the moment, "our job is to retire into our ivory towers or to do what we can to develop realism and leadership among those, if any, still capable of understanding the twentieth century and acting upon its imperatives." I share your feeling of bafflement. Consequently, like you, I work it off mainly in writing for a limited public.

LAWRENCE DENNIS

The Dynamics of Democracy

DEAR FRED: When you showed me your exchange of letters with Lawrence Dennis, I felt that the letters raised issues so striking that they ought to be published. I am adding now a few notes of commentary as one who disagrees sharply with both of you.

My differences with Dennis are, of course, more profound than my differences with you. For Dennis's values scarcely differ from those of fascism. To be sure, he now talks of "socialism" where earlier he was a good deal franker. I can only explain the change by the need for protective coloration in an American climate of opinion still too harsh for fascism. I cannot go along with your bland view that the differences between the two are "irrelevant." If socialism and fascism are the same, then millions of blasted lives have had no meaning.

For Dennis to say socialism and fascism are the same is a matter of strategy (I can well understand why he is "not one to boggle over definitions"). For you to say it, however, is sheer confusion and blindness, unpalliated by your allusions to Spengler's Caesarism: The distance between the two is deep and wide and black as the pit. You say all this is "morals" and "ideology," and that they are intangibles that are brushed aside by the imperatives of history. And yet you were one of the first to say that Stalin's invasion of Finland would in the end be disastrous for Russia's cause, even in Machiavellian terms, because it did not reckon with the moral intangibles of policy. And your letter and Dennis's are drenched with emotional and moral terms—"cowardice," "irresponsibility," "decadence." I believe with you in the strategic factors of history. Yet, forgetting the enormous differences between socialism and fascism for the masses everywhere, for their living standards and their

freedom, even in terms of strategy your insistence on calling all collectivism "Caesarism" is fatal.

Why so? You know how wholly I agree with you on the need for sending full aid to England, regardless of the risk of war. But I don't see how you expect people to follow you if the moral and ideological aspects of Nazism are unimportant. Men do not willingly die to have a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Nor do they willingly die in a hopeless cause. As soon as you admit Dennis's thesis that fascism (your "Caesarism") is inevitable, he has the draw on you, shooting with both barrels. By embracing the "inevitability" of Caesarism, you render hopeless our common cause of aiding England in order to keep Nazism from America, and our common cause also of creating a democratic dynamism which will make America's role at home and in world affairs a great one. Not only will Americans be confused about what they are fighting for, but they will know that, whatever it is, it doesn't stand a chance. That's "wave of the future" talk you're both giving us, Fred. And the mere fact that it's couched in the grandiose phrases of Spenglerism rather than in the Smith English of Mrs. Lindbergh doesn't change its effect on the middle-class American mind. For that mind has always been a bandwagon mind. Dennis says the American faith is faith in a perpetual land boom, and that's a good sentence—just close enough to the truth to be brilliant. Relying on a land boom means hoping to get in on the ground floor of a "good thing." And if you tell the American people that the stars in their courses are fighting for fascism, they'll want to be with the stars in their courses.

Der Führer

There is room and to spare in the dynamic of history for a strong democratic state which is *not* Caesarism—which is, in Lincoln's phrase, neither too weak for survival nor too strong for the liberties of its citizens. Neither of you in his letter has made the emergence of this sort of democratic state part of the campaign of history. Yet democracy is the great force in the world today, whether as dream or reality—greater than capitalism, which was once a force, or liberalism, which has never been a real one, or communism, which has too early thrown its strength away, or fascism, which once it goes down the skids will go fast, or internationalism, which may yet emerge as a great force.

Oh, I know that there has been more drivel talked about democracy than about anything else in our universe. And I know that crimes have been committed in its name. But these are signs of vitality. You don't imitate a shadow, and you don't speak in the name of a nullity. One of our heritages from Marxism is to think of democracy as the shadow of a substance—capitalism—which is disintegrating. But ours will be a ghastly blunder if we do not recognize that democracy is substance as well as dream. It is something to die for, to live by, to give our talent and energy to extending. If that sounds insubstantial for us, it is real enough for the Indian peasant who in his hut in Bolivia or Chile has a yellowed picture of Roosevelt on the wall, for Chinese coolie and intellectual alike, for the British common man and the French and Dutch and Poles and Norwegians who are staking their lives on democracy being real. Of course, we must be tough-minded if we are to survive. But especially if we are tough-minded we shall know how to value a dynamic force as powerful as the idea of a society in which men can shape their own destiny, and rise to their full height, and be comrades, and not be pushed about. Let's agree that God is on the side of the big battalions. But those battalions won't be worth a wooden pistol unless they are fighting for an idea that can somehow be made real to them.

What has so far limited us in doing this with democracy? Dennis says "capitalism"; you say "decadence." I agree more with Dennis here, but as usual he has stopped short where I want to go on. It is a capitalism thus far uncontrolled by the democratic forces of the people that has betrayed us, nationally and internationally. Dennis is wrong when he calls our whole economy stagnant. By public spending and lending, by the control of saving and investment, by anti-trust action such as is now being used to beat down prices, by trade-union organization, by planning, by a whole array of strategic controls, our economic system can be made to live and work for the mass of people more efficiently than the enslaved economy of the Nazis that Dennis so greatly admires. The "land boom" is already on the way to becoming an organized system of controls. We have plenty of knowledge of what to do with our economic machine. The snags lie not in economics but in politics—in the realm of class resistance and press distortions and in the realm of power.

So when you ask, Why don't Americans have the will to fight the Nazis? I accept neither your answer that it is because they are cowardly and decadent nor Dennis's that it is because they know there is nothing to fight for. My answer is that democracy in its fullest extension is what there is to fight for. The people are not decadent, nor cowards, nor fools. To be sure, they have been duped and doped by Congress and press. It is taking them long to slough off an isolationism deepened by the experience of the last war, but they are doing it—just as fast as they are being allowed to do it by the barons of opinion and the lords of appeasement and their Congressional isola-

tionist liegemen. For the people cannot convince themselves that democracy is in as much danger from the Nazis as you and I know it is. They are waiting also to see whether Britain means its democracy genuinely, for its own workers and India as well as for the empire; and they are being confused by the talk of the "inevitability" of a Nazi triumph. They are waiting also to see whether we, in our labor policy and our defense policy, really *mean* democracy at home. Given this set of obstructions, the wonder is that mass opinion is not more confused than it is. Please, Fred, don't go reading the sickness of your Spengler into a culture which, at the end of a decade of depression and world crisis, is stronger than it was at the beginning.

But I agree with you when you say to Dennis that there are imperatives in history working in the direction of some form of internationalism. I believe completely that the chief "revolutionary" aspect of the present period is that it marks the breaking of nations. The small state, politically "sovereign" but economically helpless, will survive only as part of a larger economic unit and only as it surrenders part of its sovereignty to some federal system. The large states will have to do the same if their world is to be kept from chaos. But what kind of federal system? You mention Lenin, Wilson, Hitler, and Clarence Streit all in the same breath. That is why we must talk of more than just world federation. It must be democratic world federation, just as our internal socialization must be democratic socialization. And the two can only be achieved in connection with each other, as part of a single campaign.

Where shall we get the will to do both? Ultimately I agree with you when you say that the future belongs to those who are willing to do "the job." But what job? I think the job is to use the fullest resources of the machine process on the economic plane, the administrative process on the political, and the élan of the democratic idea on the ideological. And then the job is to smash Nazism, carry through the civil wars against it wherever it has gained power, organize the world on a working economic basis, and carry through a social reconstruction which can keep with the people the essential decisions that affect their lives. That job only a democratic dynamic can accomplish. If the job, however, is only the conquest and retention of power and the maintenance of "order" through coercion, it will be done—at least temporarily—by fascist gangsterism (Caesarism), fighting for naked power and loot and a place in a new social hierarchy. If we choose the first, as you and I do, it is because we know men can be tough-minded yet passionate with belief, because we know that there can be spunk and steel in them as well as fear and indecision. We know that under great leadership they can do the "impossible"—that is, extend the limits of achievement to the utmost by gauging rightly the boundaries of social and historical possibility. If you don't believe that, what's the use of calling on the democracies, as you do, to resist Nazism?

Dennis wants to get the will for his job from an élite. I think I know the assortment of primitivist business men, high-powered advertising-agency executives, adventurist priests, demoniac salesmen, and intellectual muscle men that would comprise that élite, if and when. And because Dennis scorns democracy he thinks your whole idea of internationalism is a pipe dream. He is for the single-party state. There is where his totalitarianism centers. You let him get away with it by speaking of the inevitability of "socialism" as "military totalitarianism resting on a dynamic faith." If you are saying what you seem to be saying, Dennis's way seems to me much simpler and more logical. Poor Streit: you put a big burden on him if you think that his plan or any like it is going to hold together a pack of totalitarian wolf-states, each with its own brand of military socialism worked out. Internationalism, in any sense in which you mean it, is possible only where the constituent units, by the inherent nature of their economies, their political systems, their ideologies, do not have the imperative drive for further expansion. If the principle is going to be military totalitarianism at home and economic imperialism abroad, then Dennis's party-state will win out. What you will have will be the "Socialist" (Nazi) Party organized in every nation and on every continent, using national machinery and traditions where convenient—how ingeniously Dennis and his friends could work out an ideology for an American Nazism—but using the international Nazi party line and the Nazi spirit to cement the various national units.

Winston Churchill

What a heavenly city that would be! The single-party system, the state monopoly of conscience, the purging of dangerous thoughts, the Aryanization of science, the robotization of the common man, political Alcatrazes dotting both our coastlines, the administrative machinery of the nation one vast FBI. I don't have to draw this picture for you who have for a decade been our most brilliant and persistent exposer of the barbarism as well as the danger of Nazism. I implore you, since our ends and values are so similar, to look to your means. The Dennises are not your comrades, although like you they talk the language of Machiavelli, Marx, and Spengler. They are the polite forerunners of the barbarians whom you so rightly see undertaking "the job" in our country if we

do not. You say you are "bothered" by them not for moral reasons but because they won't be able to finish the job. I confess I am much more "bothered" by what they will do whether they botch the job or finish it: what they will do with this America of ours, which is not just landscape and fields of corn and skyscrapers and mines, but a living culture that we call democratic and humanist.

Dennis seems much less bothered by the barbarians. He thinks that "men of brains and good impulses" will share power with the Himmlers and Streichers and Coughlins and McWilliamses. Perhaps, with each of us, our dream of a "new order" is, after all, only a projection of the picture we have of ourselves in it. Let us leave him with his dream, sitting for the moment in his "ivory tower," writing for his "limited public," until the barbarians do with him what in Europe they have done with the Strassers and Rauschnings and other "men of brains and good impulses" who have cleared the way for them.

But you don't belong in an ivory tower. Most thinkers have some pet frustration, some feeling of having been an unheeded Cassandra. Nevertheless, our job is to fight—in market-place and statehouse, in schoolhouse and factory—for the world we wish to help fashion. And in that fight we are, as thinkers, not alone. We have the people as allies. In Spain, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Norway, in Holland, in England, they have shown a knowledge of the meaning of the struggle and a desperate heroism in waging it. They have been betrayed by the capitalists, the politicians, the generals, the diplomats. But in the face of all that they have not let us down.

MAX LERNER

Hi-Yo, Silver Lining!

BY C. B. BOUTELL

MAN in the course of his written history has always dreamed of a Midas formula with which to transmute the base material of everyday life into the minted coinage of the Never-Never Land. The formula has been in operation for seven years in the form of the Lone Ranger and his subsidiary rights. The Lone Ranger—if you have never heard him—is the hero of some four thousand or more half-hour radio broadcasts—recordings, rebroadcasts, Canadian and Australian outlets, all contributing to the total. The Lone Ranger program sells commercially for seventeen bakeries and one oil company over ninety-five domestic radio stations, not counting Canadian and foreign broadcasts or domestic sustaining programs. Merchandise ranging from lollipops to pencils is sold by seventy-one companies, each licensed for a different Lone Ranger article; the Lone Ranger comics appear in eighty-four daily and Sunday papers, twenty-nine of them using both the daily and the Sunday feature. The spread is something to conjure with: Buenos Aires to Buffalo, Detroit to Durban (South Africa), Halifax to Harrisburg, Manila to Mexico City, Richmond to Rio, Toronto to Tulsa. All of this nets the originators of the Lone Ranger interests something in excess of half a million dollars a year. And there are Lone Ranger movies also!

Back in 1933 George W. Trendle and John H. King, both previously associated with the motion-picture industry, found themselves with a Detroit radio station sufficiently independent of the chains to be losing money hand over fist. Nothing but a good dramatic program could save WXYZ from its alphabetic end. Mr. Trendle found a solution: horse opera with overtones of "Pilgrim's Progress"—the Lone Ranger. The formula seems perfect. The Lone Ranger, sole survivor of a group of Texas rangers, becomes the Masked Rider of Justice. He acquires a white horse named Silver, with silver shoes, a staunch Indian friend named Tonto, and silver bullets for his six-gun. But unlike Robin Hood, Raffles, and the Lone Wolf, the Lone Ranger never operates counter to the law, only parallel to it when it is unenlightened. Result: action aplenty with no subversive effects on the tiny tots who, theoretically, listen to the program. I say theoretically because recent surveys show that probably at least 63 per cent of the current audience is adult. All the programs require hard riding, shooting, and suspense. The sound effects are superbly handled, and a surprising sense of reality is achieved. The plots are never elaborate, since they must be complete in each instalment so that the children will not worry. The Lone Ranger always rides off to further adventure safe and sound, and millions of children sleep the better for it. The programs are amply salted with the Ranger's now famous cry, "Hi-Yo, Silver!"—probably the most valuable signature in radio.

It seems simple enough, but the idea did not burst full-blown into being. Mr. Trendle outlined the general direction the program was to take and turned it over to Fran Striker, a script writer, who is largely responsible for the details. And Fran Striker has carried on from the beginning, developing, incorporating suggestions, doing the Ranger and various other scripts in the amount of about 50,000 words a week. When George Trendle

wanted someone to write a weekly script for another dramatic broadcast, about the adventures of the Green Hornet, he turned, naturally, to the versatile Mr. Striker —and his formula.

The Green Hornet bears an astonishing resemblance to the Lone Ranger if you approach the program with the formula in mind. The setting is modern and metropolitan, but the Green Hornet travels about in his big black sedan for the benefit of the oppressed city dweller in much the same way that the Lone Ranger operates in the wide open spaces. The Green Hornet is doing famously.

The basic appeal of these two programs, of many imitations of them, and of the Lone Ranger comics in both the newspapers and those insidious, ubiquitous pulp-paper creations, "books" of comics, must lie in the wish-fulfilment they offer to those exposed to them. But an achievement of real social value must also be credited to the Lone Ranger's creators. The Lone Ranger Safety Clubs for boys and girls throughout the United States now have well over a million members. Various merchandising ideas, including give-aways of all sorts, have been used by the program. The first was the famous pop-gun incident. On May 16, 1933, when the Ranger was still a sustaining feature, the program offered a pop-gun to the first three hundred children to write in asking for one; 25,904 letters were received in two days. Only a few months ago a bakery offered a miniature newspaper. The total give-away ran to well over a million, with the retailers' trucks jamming the streets at the bakeries to pick up bread to meet the demand. And there is the classic story of the Ranger's one full-fledged public appearance at a school field day on Belle Isle at Detroit, when 70,000 children stormed the police lines. That was in 1933. Today the police would need the help of the National Guard. However, the Ranger does not need to appear in person. The safety clubs give the necessary check on popularity and secure the type of local support for which publicity men give their shirts. The mayor or at least the local police chief will always sound off for safety, sales of (insert name of product) go up, and accidents go down in the community. "Hi-Yo, Silver! Away . . .!"

As the Lone Ranger has become better and better known he has conquered one field after another. Soon he will invade the already crowded market for adult Western stories. Will the golden formula work? His debut is scheduled for this month. The book will be written by Fran Striker, it will be entitled "The Lone Ranger Rides," and it will present the first full-length adventure of the Ranger in this form. Once started, the books might go on indefinitely.

Results seem to prove that literally millions of Lone Ranger fans can listen intelligently and that they have children with money to spend for toy pistols, cowboy suits, leather wallets, games, silver-plated spoons, and bubble gum. If these same fans can read—and can be persuaded to do so from a book—the formula will indeed be perfect. "Hi-Yo, Silver!"

Within the Gates

DURING the last half of 1940 this column attempted to record the development of American fascism in the making. The incidents reported and the persons discussed had an immediate news value as well as historical significance. There were other incidents which were too unimportant in themselves to be noted but which have a cumulative significance in retrospect. Trends then too nebulous to analyze have now crystallized. Looking back upon the old year from the vantage point of 1941, we can add a few footnotes which may prove to be more important than the published text.

UNDER THE Imperial Wizardry of James Arnold Colescott, the former veterinarian, the Ku Klux Klan in 1940 became one of the most formidable units in the American *fascism*. Its present membership of approximately 300,000 is at least 50 per cent larger than that of a year ago. The quantity and quality of its acts of violence have established a new high—or low. In Fulton County, Georgia, Klansmen killed three persons in one month. A county grand jury meeting in Atlanta listened to evidence of more than fifty floggings.

It is no longer true that the Klan is a purely American phenomenon indebted to a pioneer vigilante tradition rather than to a European ideology. Its fascist character was dramatized on August 18 when the New Jersey Realm held a joint meeting with the German-American Bund at the latter's Camp Nordland.

THE PROPAGANDA of American fascists during the latter part of 1940 indicates that the Catholic is to join the Jew as a scapegoat. Two factors contribute to this trend—the resurgence of the Klan and the increasing activity of certain fascist-minded leaders among religious Fundamentalists. As a matter of fact, there is a close connection between the two groups: Fundamentalists, who are by theology anti-Catholic and by nature intolerant, have always constituted a majority of the membership of the Klan. West of the Alleghenies, and particularly in the Mississippi Valley and the deep South, anti-Catholicism is a more deeply ingrained prejudice than anti-Semitism and is too rich a mine to be overlooked by would-be Führers.

As the influence of Protestant fundamentalism gained in the American fascist movement during the year, the strength of clerical fascism waned. This was due in part to the fact that the current code of the National Association of Broadcasters forbids member stations to sell time to individuals or organizations for the discussion of "controversial" subjects, and thus made it impossible for Father Coughlin to renew his radio contracts. The silencing of Father Coughlin, plus the trial of seventeen members of the Christian Front for conspiracy against the federal government, resulted in the dissolution of a number of the Front's units even though a

majority of the members indicted were acquitted and the indictments against the others dismissed. Only in the Boston area are Coughlinites increasing in strength.

DURING 1940 the American fascist movement turned in the general direction of respectability. Some of the more blatant outfits either dissolved permanently or reorganized under new names. Führer John Henry Peyton of the shirted American Rangers, after a temporary eclipse, reappeared as the leader of an organization sententiously called Mobilization for American Needs. Hans Diebel, owner of a Bundist bookshop on the West Coast, began distributing propaganda in the name of the League to Save America First. Joseph McWilliams converted the discredited Christian Mobilizers into the political American Destiny Party. In November propagandists James True and Robert Edward Edmondson announced their intention to discontinue their publications. In December William Dudley Pelley discontinued publication of the anti-Semitic magazine *Liberation,* dissolved the Silvershirts, and moved his printing equipment to Noblesville, Indiana, where it will be used to publish a magazine called *Friendship*.

THE CONTINUED strength of the American fascist movement has confronted the country with the old dilemma: shall persons advocating anti-democratic forms of government be protected by democracy's civil liberties? No conclusive answer was reached in 1940, but there was a tendency to invoke existing restrictions against such persons and, in some instances, to impose new restrictions. Joseph McWilliams was arrested three times for making remarks tending to disturb the peace and twice convicted. Nine members of the German-American Bund and one non-member were indicted under a recently enacted New Jersey law which forbids acts promoting racial or religious hatred. A bill was passed by the House of Representatives requiring persons using the mails for printed matter to reveal their identities and backing. The Voorhis Act, which caused the Communist Party of the United States to sever its connection with the Third International, may be construed to apply to such groups as the Bund. A number of sedition and military-disaffection bills are pending in Congress. The trend toward further restrictions is clear. A *Fortune* poll last January revealed that 49 per cent of the persons questioned believed anyone should be permitted to speak on any subject. But six months later 70 per cent were in favor of "curbing, locking up, or deporting Communist and Nazi supporters."

In the Wind

THE STATE DEPARTMENT has filed a private protest with Franco's government objecting to its treatment of political opponents. The fact of the protest comes from an inside source, and nobody knows why it wasn't made public.

THE NLRB will not appeal the Circuit Court decision which gave Ford the right to distribute anti-union propaganda to his employees. Since the board was favored in the rest of the decision, it has decided not to complicate the case by keeping the "free speech" issue alive. It was Francis Biddle who insisted on this strategy.

THERE IS widespread resentment among New Dealers over the Defense Commission's appointment of John Lord O'Brian as general counsel. O'Brian is Tom Dewey's upstate leader; he is also Senator Mead's most serious political rival in Buffalo; and the appointment gives Dewey important patronage and prestige that may be used against Mead in 1942.

WYTHE WILLIAMS, Mutual's radio commentator, included a nice note in a recent broadcast, but it may have been inadvertent. He said: "Even today Germany has an Achilles heel. That heel is Mussolini."

DEPARTURE OF the middle-of-the-road National Student Federation from the American Youth Congress is a big blow to that organization. It is likely to be followed by defections among other groups which have heretofore strung along despite restlessness over the Congress's policies.

ANTI-FASCIST FILMS produced in the United States are running into trouble in Latin America. "The Dictator" has been banned in Argentina, and hostile demonstrations have been organized in other countries. Detailed reports of these incidents are being studied anxiously by film magnates.

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS recently told a Rotary Club audience: "I know nothing of the market-place except that once when I was working my way through school I sold a clothes-line reel to a woman in Elyria, Ohio, who was later committed to an institution for the feeble-minded. My success with her led me to devote my life to students and professors."

THE NEWSPAPER GUILD is having a stiff tussle at the New York *Times* as a result of the formation of the A. F. of L. Newswriters' Association there. Publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger, never a booster for the Guild, isn't averse to the growth of the craft unit, and bargaining talks are getting more and more complex.

PRESS NOTE: The report of the Smith committee charging the NLRB with having increased labor troubles was featured on the front page of nearly every newspaper. Two days before the report came out, the Department of Labor published statistics showing that there was less labor conflict in 1940 than in any year of the previous decade. Its statement was buried or ignored.

WHAT ABOUT the Dies committee's promise that it was going to probe the Christian Front if the committee was kept alive? Insiders say nothing will happen—except more exposés of the Bund.

[*Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. The $5 prize for the best item submitted in December goes to the contributor of the note about Rinehart Holt published two weeks ago.*]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

A VISITOR from the country can see more clearly the new company in Washington. In this day of defense it is composed, not of soldiers and sailors, admirals and generals, but of well-dressed gentlemen who do not look like politicians or reformers but are in fact the growing army of the well-dressed, elegant-looking gentlemen in government. A good many of them are necessary in the defense program. Some have brought great talents to town. Some come for contracts and go home to fill them. But in the Carlton lobby and the Mayflower bar many of them have the look of the dollar-a-year men of the last war.

Anybody who was in Washington then remembers them. I was there, though young. I remember the huge parties they gave in 1917 and 1918 for their daughters from Chicago and Pittsburgh and New York. Washington was not only the military and financial capital of the land but the social one also, a capital which seemed to grow gayer as the guns grew louder beyond Verdun.

Democracy was very elegantly saved. It may be again. But ingrate though I may be—lovely as the daughters of the dollars-a-year were, excellent as was the music they imported, splendid as were the eggs and sausage with which they provided us in the dawn—I hope the dollar-a-year men may be dispensed with in this crisis and whatever lies beyond it. The country needs the talents of a good many of the best men like them. But a country undertaking to stand as the citadel of democracy needs to reject promptly any system which inevitably, if unintentionally, makes a special class of people who are rich enough to serve without pay while other men depend for a livelihood upon their wages for equally patriotic and essential service.

The United States government is not a mendicant. If it is able to pay billions for ships and planes, it is quite able to pay for the brains it needs to direct their acquisition and use. Perhaps the government, at regular government standards of pay, cannot give the best brains of business what they are worth. But how many buck privates, facing the dangers of actual combat, would regard the wages they get as adequate compensation for the risks they take? The important aspect of this matter is that nobody should be permitted to assume the airs of a philanthropist in a government job. Obviously for the very rich the salaries they are willing to wave aside in government service are petty in terms of the sacrifice involved. But no false distinction should be drawn between those who wave them aside and others in the government service whose work is as essential to American security and who need the pay.

Furthermore, while in the last war many of the ablest Americans gave indispensable service without salary, the offer to work without salary resulted in the cluttering up of a lot of Washington offices with dollar-a-year men whose contribution was hardly equal to the one-dollar wage they received when the value of desk space and elbow room was considered. With important exceptions, the rule is as sound in government as among individuals that you get what you pay for—no more, no less. Fortunately, the government in a crisis can take the services it needs. Few Americans would fail to respond to a real call to real service. But the government will do better if it takes what it wants in human material and not what is offered to it for nothing. The best rule for efficiency and democracy would be for the government to hire and pay. And nobody should be allowed to work for the government unpaid.

If war comes or the present crisis continues long in intensity, however, there is hardly anything which can be predicted with more certainty than that the dollar-a-year offers from would-be dollar-a-year men will increase in number. The capital is the exciting center. The hotels are crowded; noisy voices fill the bars. Those able to gather will be gathering there. The demand will grow again for places in the government service for the same sort of people who so long made diplomacy so stupid because the only brains available to it were the brains of the very restricted number of the well-to-do. Certainly no sensible person would bar men from the government service merely because they are rich. But there should be no place in the government service now or later for men who are merely rich and so are willing, in effect, to pay the government for their jobs by not requiring it to pay them for their work.

Now, before the pressure comes, more sense would be made out of our pretensions to democracy and more efficiency would be assured in government if every person, high or low, were put on the pay roll at what he is worth by government standards of pay and kept there or put out. If they are not worth paying, they are not worth having. No American is too rich to be hired by America. And no American in the government service of this democracy should be made to feel less noble in patriotic enterprise because he needs to draw his pay.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Faust Before the Mirror

BY RAPHAEL HAYES

I must be the last man to burn in hell
The last one terrified at the zero hour
When the windows shudder
and the dogs howl
And the cloven hoof pounds up the street.

For I am the hero of incredible desires
The prodigal and the shallow smile,
The enameled lady in the electrician's dawn;
The brass fame,
wet ashes of their failure,
And the playboy's dream,
The imitation Solomon in business clothes.
I am their equestrian shadow
Plunging its crooked mile from birth to death.

So I must be the last gambler to speak,
The epic lover,
the giant memory of defeat,
Who took the longest chance
Since God with Adam
or with Adam's bone,
Who now behold the burning and the ash,
The world's eighth wonder,
My own charred spirit in the glass.

How Long Ago the Home

BY KARL JAY SHAPIRO

How long ago the home
The custody of womb
How far far out of mind
In another dimension
The aberration
Of first information,
Goodby to it, it must have been unkind.

Sister I teased you
Cousin I kissed you
Hid in the closet
In female odors
Above the disorders
Of grandfather's illness.
The confusing passion
For guilty action
The search for sadness
In the other's stillness
Were these but profits
Of an insta[illegible] mood
Or the lust f[illegible]ity
In the risi[illegible]d?

Bill Do[illegible]as, Fighter

DEMOCRA[illegible]ND FINANCE. By William O. Douglas. Introdu[illegible]n by James Allen. Yale University Press. $3.

MANY pe[illegible] admire Tom Dewey because he is young and tough, and, especially out West, they believe in his integrity a[illegible]liberalism because "the interests counted him out at the [illegible]publican convention." Well, there was another fellow i[illegible]om Dewey's class at the Columbia Law School who has gone farther in less time than anyone else in the class. This young man actually came out of the West—on the business e[illegible]a freight car. He is not just a perennial candidate, which i[illegible] much stature as a personable family man only forty-tw[illegible] years old might be expected to have achieved. Contin[illegible]y for over five years he has held posts of high respons[illegible]as a maker, administrator, and interpreter of law. I[illegible]m he has set a record practically without precedent in [illegible]erican history. His name is Bill Douglas.

This book is [illegible]ollection of papers written by Douglas before he gradu[illegible]d from the SEC to the Supreme Court. They tell a great [illegible]al about him. Bill Douglas did not make his way by going [illegible]to a silk-stocking district, or to a lawyers' dinner, and [illegible]acking gangsters—whom *everybody* is against (and, it is pertinent to add, whose civil liberties can be ignored by ambitious district attorneys). Instead, he went right into the Bond Club in 1937 to make the famous speech in which he served notice on Wall Street that "the economic utility of continuity of banking relationships is of unestablished value to anyone except the banker"; telling the bankers to go out and compete for their livings or else. As Mr. Douglas points out, fully two-thirds of the country's dividend and interest payments each year are handed to individuals or families living on incomes of $10,000 or less. These little people, he reminded the bankers in this speech, are "the real owners of [our] industrial empires." They have no confidence in the "mid-Victorian attitudes" of managements which forget their trustee obligations to labor, investors, and consumers, a fact which the 1940 election would seem to establish beyond question. "There can be in our form of corporate and industrial organization no royalism which can long dictate" to the people. As he told another meeting of New York business men in 1938, the New Deal's regulatory agencies are here to stay. They are part of the mechanism of democratic government whereby capitalism can discipline and preserve itself. This mechanism "is

equipped to meet business on business terms. . . . With joint action it becomes an efficient business force; acting alone it becomes a police force. The choice rests in the hands of business."

Typical of his courage were Mr. Douglas's relations with the New York Stock Exchange, which he found a private club and left a public institution, collecting the scalp of Dick Whitney and the magic symbols of the Street's Older Bankers in transit. While he was cracking the whip over the Exchange's Old Guard, he reminded the Street of the public's impression that "someone on the inside has a mirror . . . behind the backs of the investors who deal in this market." This," he said, "adds a casino element to . . . should be an old-fashioned open auction." In the course of this straight speaking Mr. Douglas told a story to explain to the Street the kind of change the country had in mind. The story was about an Indian out West who wanted to borrow $1,000 from a local bank and couldn't understand why the banker wanted some collateral. Finally he was persuaded to put up twenty ponies with the banker. Then he struck oil. He came to the bank with a huge roll of money, paid off a $1,000 bill, and retrieved his ponies. The banker, seeing the large roll, suggested that the Indian deposit the money in his bank. "How many ponies *you* got?" asked the Indian. Mr. Douglas closed his speech by urging 1929-minded brokers to accept the new order of things and begin moving forward under it. "I offer you a police escort" . . . is the somewhat cryptic thought with which he left his audience.

Another key front on which Mr. Douglas spoke prophetically and fought vigorously was that presented by the utilities. Two months before the Supreme Court's decision in the test Bond and Share case, Mr. Douglas made another characteristic challenge. He announced that the industry had become divided about the Holding Company Act, and that the realists in it had resolved to live and prosper under it. But, he added, these realists also live "under the whip hand of New York finance. . . . I have spent hour upon hour with leaders of companies who extol the virtues of the act yet are prevented by untold intangibles, such as the fear of offending New York investment bankers who hate the Administration, from participating in its health-giving benefits. . . . While the nation awaits restoration of its capital markets, financial leadership slumbers. An industry which its leaders say could use millions of dollars a year in capital . . . is stymied by a small group who stand squarely in its path intent on preserving their own intangible interests regardless of the costs" to the economy. The last campaign showed clearly how determined to vault back into the saddle were the forces Mr. Douglas challenged—how eager, as a punster said, to "re-Morganize" the government. But look at the industry today. Mr. Douglas's old enemy, Mr. Hopson, is a public spectacle, practically a public ward. The great Standard Gas system is also being reorganized. Other new deals of the same kind are in the making. The public has come to agree with Mr. Douglas that the "death sentence" is a "death sentence" for holding-company management only, and is bringing new vigor to the producers in the industry each year.

In addition to Wall Street and the utilities, innovations for which Mr. Douglas has been responsible include such vital matters as cleaning up corporate reorganizations and starting work on problems as pressing as those of small business, the country's derelict areas, the possibilities of developing regional capital markets, competition between insurance companies and investment bankers, revitalizing the investment trusts as sources of capital, and cleaning up the trustee business. This is a formidable list. On the Supreme Court his best-known decision has been the one in the Los Angeles Lumber case, in which he laid it down once and for all that when a company goes under, its public creditors come first and the insiders must either get out or buy their way back by putting up new money. Other decisions concern the problems of monopoly and of sick industries. Unfortunately, they are not reproduced here.

Mr. Douglas is a reformer and a fighter. He sits in the chair of Louis Brandeis, and provides as appropriate a continuation of that great man's career as he could ever have hoped for. But Douglas is a new kind of reformer. He is not out for reform for the sake of reform even though, as some say, it paralyzes our economy. He is for reform precisely because drastic reforms have been needed to revitalize both our economy and our national morale. Listen to him talk about "the forces of disorder." "These groups," he says, "collectively divorced from social responsibility, are the chief agents through which our economic and financial blunders accumulate until the next blood-letting process. This is called a crisis. But it is nothing more than the rhythmic breaking out of the pent-up forces of abuse, mismanagement, and maldistribution of economic effort and income. Academic economists have tried to endow cycles and crises thus created with natural attributes. In this way they have . . . washed the hands of high finance and excused it from social responsibility. But the cycles and crises thus created are not inescapable. We may in years to come look at them as monuments to the folly of the human race." Mr. Douglas is for reform because he is so practical.

One of the paradoxes of the New Deal revolution is that it has deposed the bankers, on whom responsibility could easily be fixed, and tended to let their power slip by default into the hands of the anonymous class of risers-through-promotion known as management. These leaders—all too rarely graduated from the wheel-turning, revenue-producing divisions of corporations—are different from members of the small-propertied class and from the owners of great fortunes; in fact, they are independent of each. Of their irresponsibility, if unregulated, Mr. Douglas says, "Enterprises . . . which command tremendous resources, which hold the fate of whole communities of workers in their hands . . . which dominate markets and control vast resources tip the scales on the side of prosperity or on the side of depression, depending on the decisions of the men at the top"—if they are left to themselves. Mr. Douglas is for regulation of these trustees—the corporate managements—because he is for protecting the property of their employers, the people in the brackets under $10,000 a year.

In this as in every statement of his in this book you can feel Mr. Douglas's belief that the kind of society we get is the kind of society we either tolerate or achieve. His attitude is fundamentally simple, a combination of morals and practicality. The law is fundamentally democratic; it *must* be enforced; still more laws must be written to equalize eco-

nomic and social pressures; if *democracy* is not thus realized, capitalism will go under. This is, at bottom, the lesson fascism should have been teaching us these many years. In 1936 Mr. Douglas warned of the danger that a cartelized industrial hierarchy, operated by managements self-perpetuating and answerable to no one, may transform a nation of shopkeepers into a nation of clerks.

But in Mr. Douglas's pragmatic idealism, which fuses the great traditions of legal philosophy and old-fashioned populism with plain, tough know-how, we have as good a guaranty as any government can provide that we are not going to become a regimented or tired nation and that we know what we are arming to defend. For his is the kind of loyal and effective personality which this democracy has always managed to have on tap in adequate quantity for its great crises. We may count ourselves lucky that the present crisis finds Mr. Douglas still a very young man. ELIOT JANEWAY

Napoleon III

THE SECOND EMPIRE. By Octave Aubry. Translated by Arthur Livingston. J. B. Lippincott Company. $5.

"I HEAR the complaint," Napoleon III once remarked, "that things never go straight in my government. How could they? The Empress is a legitimist. Morny is an Orleanist. I am a republican. There is only one Bonapartist. That's Persigny—and he is crazy!"

At any rate, there was only one person with the power to resolve the confusion, and that was Napoleon III himself. That he increasingly failed to do so was due partly to progressive weariness and ill health. But it was also due, as has lately been forgotten but as M. Aubry reminds us, to the fact that "too many ideas were stirring around in the head of the second Emperor. They were noble, broadminded ideas most often, but the attempt to reconcile them the one with the other raised unsolvable problems." And back of it all was the inescapable fact that although "he stood forth as the mandatory of the people," he had achieved his position by a bloody coup d'état and maintained it by the exercise of absolute dictatorship and all that implies, or used to imply. For in the "liberal and progressive" nineteenth century even dictators could not imagine the return to the methods of the Inquisition which it was left for their twentieth-century successors to realize.

M. Aubry, who gives a survey of an era as much as the life of one man, recalls to mind the many good points of the Second Empire. It was on the whole a time of ordered prosperity, in which Paris, newly beautified into the sweeping capital of avenues and boulevards that we know, really became *"la cité souveraine, le séjour du plaisir"* which we also know. The very mediocrity which reigned in official circles, artistic and literary as well as political, gave more iconoclastic talents a medium in which to crystallize, even if, like Baudelaire, they risked judicial condemnation or went into exile like Victor Hugo. At the same time ambitious foreigners like Offenbach and Wagner came to Paris to achieve fame.

Paris was not only the capital of Europe in the artistic, intellectual, theatrical, and financial sense, but also undoubtedly in the political, until Napoleon III, thanks to the ideas trying to reconcile themselves in his head and also to the disunity indicated by the statement quoted above, threw away all his advantages. Largely for idealistic reasons he assisted in the unification of both Italy and Germany while weakening Austria from less worthy motives. Too late, he saw that the real danger lay on the Rhine. But even then no adequate preparation was made for the inevitable showdown, and the crisis found everybody pulling in a different direction and the army, though full of seasoned fighters and brave men, at the mercy of politicians and incompetent generals. France was reduced from the dominant position in Europe to what was, when M. Aubry wrote his book, the lowest point in its history.

The present struggle had not broken out when this book was written; but had M. Aubry set out with the collapse of France in mind to draw a deadly historical parallel he could not have produced a more timely work. Solid, detailed, documented, detached, clear, and very readable, it will undoubtedly be an important book for some time to come—until it is possible to write a new study, which the author foreshadows in his last sentence, a study of Napoleon III as a European, "one of the forerunners, one of those forerunners whom fate betrays in their attempt to realize great conceptions." In the meantime France is once again faced with the fact which was Napoleon III's undoing; namely, that it does not seem possible for a German to attain political greatness except, like Bismarck, "by brutally destroying the European spirit." JAMES ORRICK

Long-Range Planning

FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POPULATION POLICY. By Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

FEW persons realize the extent to which America's population is failing to reproduce itself. The continued increase in population in the past decade has blinded most of us to the fact that we are already well along in the spiral of declining population. In 1935 the reproduction rate of the white families was only 96 per cent of that necessary to maintain a stationary population. For Negroes it was slightly lower. The actual peak in population will be reached some time between 1955 and 1980, and by that time the change in age distribution will be such that a resumption in population growth would be unlikely even if the birth rate should suddenly rise. It is estimated that there will be eight million fewer persons under twenty years of age in 1980 than there were in 1930 and, at the same time, some fifteen million more of sixty-five years and over.

To a greater extent than most recent books on population this brief, popularly written work deals with the social and economic consequences of current population shifts. The unemployment problem, it points out, has been intensified by the disproportionate number in the population who are now at the productive ages. Between 1870 and 1930 the total population doubled in size, but the labor supply tripled. In recent years an abnormally large proportion of the population has been coming of age each year; hence the so-called youth

problem. The fact that large families are prevalent chiefly among unskilled workers and in agricultural regions where inadequate educational opportunities exist makes the absorption of these young people especially difficult in a highly mechanized society.

The authors are quite aware that what ordinarily is referred to as a "population problem" is really an economic problem. Given reasonable assurance of security, the birth rate would probably rise enough to check the decline in population. Given a more widespread distribution of wealth, we should no longer be plagued with concern lest the least fit and least trained swamp those who are well trained and of good stock. To meet the situation the authors present a fairly comprehensive program of reform. They point out that new means of facilitating investment and stimulating economic enterprise will be required, together with an increase in the general levels of consumption and a more rational coordination of economic activity through planning on a national scale. Such planning should place special emphasis on a more equitable distribution of economic opportunity in relation to the distribution of the population. Sound population trends, the authors maintain, are likely to appear only if society is motivated by social and cooperative ideals.

The book is a valuable contribution to the necessary integration of the social sciences and deserves wide reading.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Life of Father DeSmet

FATHER DESMET: PIONEER PRIEST OF THE ROCKIES. By Helene Magaret. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

MISS MAGARET tells the story of a Belgian priest, Pierre Jean DeSmet, who first came to America as a young man of twenty in 1821 and who for more than fifty years thereafter was benevolently active among the Indians of the West. Father DeSmet's special ambition was to found peaceful and "uncivilized" agrarian communities of Christian Indians, along the lines of an earlier community, of brief existence, in Paraguay. He won a few temporary successes through the exercise of unusual tact and determination, but the times were dead against him, and in the end he saw his best hopes baffled: the tribes were everywhere outwitted, corrupted, and destroyed by the whites who flooded the West.

The general literary virtues of Miss Magaret's book, if they are not deeper than wells or wider than church doors, are enough and will serve. Accounts of events and scenes are rich in concrete detail, judiciously planted, and communicated without pretense or undue histrionics. Occasionally a stylistic absurdity is encountered ("Father DeSmet was usually awakened in the morning by the inaudible movements" of his servant), and occasionally we meet the blunderbuss cliché ("appalling misery," "the horror" of the scene), but on the whole the writing is solid and good. The character of Father DeSmet is conceived, no doubt, in a spirit of not too critical piety and within a limited range of analysis and understanding, but the conception, so far as it goes, is sincere and free from Y. M. C. A. catchwords and moralizings.

Yet when one has granted "Father DeSmet" its really considerable degree of dramatic and compositional excellence, one has not said all, for the book is, I think, guilty of a certain basic ambiguity of structure. What has Miss Magaret written, a biography or a novel? Superficially, in its technique, the book conforms to the ordinary canons of the modern novel. We are shown characters, major and minor, who are engaged in working out their destinies in collaboration with each other and their physical circumstances, and the author assumes her ability to tell us anything about these characters we ought to know, including both details of behavior and significant subjective occurrences that are not verbally communicated by the characters themselves. Yet Miss Magaret's manner of writing, coupled with the fact of her protagonist's historical existence, surely implies that we are to accept her material at the level of biography as well as of drama. Unfortunately, it is impossible to separate the biographical elements from the fictional, for the author's entire additions, though one suspects that they are all perfectly known, cannot be systematically identified; and the extra-fictional documentation is remarkably slight. Miss Magaret has made her book interesting and dramatic, but she has also left her audience somewhat in the dark. *Caveat lector*, we may imagine her saying with a subtle smile.

E. S. FORGOTSON

DO NOT REMOVE FROM PENDLETON LIBRARY MICHIGAN UNION

Middle Class and Democracy

THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By Arthur N. Holcombe. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

THE relation of the middle class to democracy and social change becomes constantly more significant and crucial. Yet the subject is curiously neglected, save for appeals to prejudice and passion. In this sober, thoughtful study Dr. Holcombe develops the thesis that the rural middle class was formerly "on the whole the dominant factor in national politics," that the urban middle classes are now the dominant factor, and that these classes are the foundation of democracy. The study offers many suggestive analyses and ideas; it throws considerable light on the influence of the middle class in American history, especially on how a small minority of middle-class delegates to the Constitutional Convention was able to get democratic provisions, and on the class nature of the sectional struggles from Jefferson and Jackson to the Civil War.

Yet the net result is disappointing because of serious shortcomings in Dr. Holcombe's historical analyses and approach. He tends to neglect the urban middle class of small independent enterprisers and the workers, overlooks the popular alliance between them and the farmers that was the strength of Jacksonianism and populism, and ignores altogether the part played by labor unions in broadening and deepening American democracy. Nor is it made clear that the old middle class was bound up with small-scale competitive capitalism; that its ideal was an economic democracy of small independent enterprisers—80 per cent of the American people in Jackson's day—who owned their own means of livelihood; and that the ideal, despite the middle-class "political dominance" that Dr. Holcombe stresses, was destroyed by the onsweep of industrial and monopoly capitalism that converted the majority of the American people into property-less dependents on the property of a small minority.

The economic basis of the old middle-class democracy was the identification of its functional interests and dominance with the relations of liberal competitive capitalism. Now that those relations are gone, or going fast, what is the economic basis of urban middle-class democracy? Dr. Holcombe does not say. Instead he emphasizes numbers and attitudes. Thus he cites a *Fortune* survey which shows that 80 per cent of the American people think they are middle class—as if, important as it is, what a man thinks of himself tells the whole story. By means of additions and subtractions Dr. Holcombe makes the middle classes greatly outnumber the proletariat—as if that weren't precisely what orthodox Marxists, whom he criticizes, do when they add and subtract to make nearly everybody a proletarian. (You can no more dispose of workers by calling them middle class than you can dispose of middle-class groups by calling them proletarian.) And just as Marxists speak of the "proletarian state," Dr. Holcombe speaks of the "middle-class state"; just as they ascribe a "historical mission" to the proletariat, he says it is "the mission of the middle classes to maintain freedom and justice." Dr. Holcombe makes a good "middle-class Marxist"!

Now that sort of thing is dangerous. It substitutes abstractions, into which one can pump different meanings, for the concrete analysis of functional relations and interests. The middle classes are significant for democracy and social change because they include, in the *new* middle class, *the technical, managerial, and administrative employees who direct the activity of capitalist economic collectivism and who come to functional dominance as capitalism is transformed into a new order.* It is not enough to say, as Dr. Holcombe does, that capitalist development has transferred "political dominance" from the rural middle class to the urban middle class. We must understand the relation of the *new* middle class to three major institutional pressures of economic collectivism and social change. These are:

1. Corporate industry, in which ownership is separated from management and management becomes a collective function of technical, managerial, and administrative bureaus, authorities, and commissions and their employees, increasingly uncontrollable by the millions of absentee "capitalist" stockholders.

2. The labor unions, which through collective bargaining (and politics) are constantly limiting capitalist rights in industry, and which develop managerial and administrative groups of their own.

3. The state, which is multiplying its economic functions and power, and which increasingly performs, through its collective technical, managerial, and administrative employees, the tasks of organization and management of industry formerly performed by capitalists.

These three forces are transforming capitalism. The transformation brings the new middle class of technical, managerial, and administrative employees to functional dominance as the capitalists are wholly or partly dispossessed under one set of conditions or another. Dr. Holcombe casually refers to the new middle class merely as "the more responsible and better-paid employees of capitalist enterprises," describes the enlarging powers of government in purely political terms, and altogether forgets the labor unions. Yet the whole problem of democracy and social change is the relation of those three forces to one another: whether they can combine in a democratic manner to let the new middle class come to functional dominance under conditions of democratic collectivism. It is within this framework that Dr. Holcombe's illuminating emphasis on the "political interpretation of history"—the influence of political ideas on institutions—becomes suggestive for program and action.

If the three forces that are transforming capitalism combine in one all-inclusive centralized power, we shall have the totalitarianism of the communist or fascist corporate state. If government usurps all power over industrial management and labor unions, totalitarianism is inevitable. Communism and fascism do not abolish unions, but deprive them of freedom and transform them into totalitarian institutions with a new type of "labor leader" to "manage" them for the corporate state. Middle-class elements who feel it is a good thing for government to control unions should remember that *unfree* unions are a mainstay of totalitarianism.

But the institutional forces of capitalist transformation need not combine in a totalitarian manner. They can combine in a democratic balance in which management, labor unions, and state have definite but limited rights and powers, and check one another in a constitutional economic setup. Dr. Holcombe is right: "collectivism presents possibilities for [democratic] economic and political forms," and the "independent influence of political ideas" allows us to choose and shape such forms. But under what conditions? Not if there is a middle-class struggle for "ascendancy." The proletariat swung to communism against the middle classes in Russia and got totalitarianism; the middle classes swung to fascism against the proletariat in Italy and Germany and got totalitarianism too. Capitalists are dispossessed or suppressed in the corporate state, the middle classes are ascendant: where is their "mission," in Dr. Holcombe's words, "to maintain freedom and justice"? Middle class and proletariat need each other; they can implement greater democracy and freedom if they recognize each other's functional interests and rights, and cooperate to build a new order. We must revive the *people's* alliance of middle class, workers, and farmers that shaped American democracy in the past, to shape a new democratic collectivism. The workers and free unions can be depended upon to struggle for democracy, for democracy gives them the chance to get freedom and justice. Can we depend upon the new middle class? Yes, if social change is not the expression of brute mechanical pressures, if there is awareness—itself a social force—of the conditions that bring the new middle class to functional dominance, if it is recognized that totalitarianism enslaves the middle classes too. While there are authoritarian elements in those classes, there is no inescapable connection between totalitarianism and the functional dominance of technicians, managers, and administrators. The destructive irrational ideology of totalitarianism distorts the constructive functional characteristics of the new middle class—the urge for economic efficiency and plenty, the instinct of workmanship evident in our technological marvels and in the new art of industrial design, the rational scientific approach, service in the performance of functional tasks. These characteristics can flourish only in a world of democracy, freedom, and peace.

LEWIS COREY

Letters to the Editors

Fight Fire with Fire

Dear Sirs: There can be few persons who still doubt that the Axis triumvirate is conducting a campaign within the United States to wean us from our democratic ways and make the "new world order" appear like a great new Land of Goshen. No one, except perhaps the Dies committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, knows how much money is being spent in the United States to support the Bund, the Communist Party, and all the other "fifth-column" organizations. Here and there we have moved in minor ways to curtail the activities of the most blatant of such groups. We need to do much more. We need to organize a tremendous counter-attack, to fight fire with fire.

We need an army of secret agents, and we need to spread this army across the face of the globe and to equip it with every device of persuasion and salesmanship we know—the radio, newspapers, magazines, books, pictures, advertisements.

We ought, in other words, to institute an overpowering American advertising campaign with just one thing to sell—the American way. The selling message should be just this: This is how America lives. These are the things Americans have. These are the freedoms, these are the opportunities that are every American's birthright. These are the things *you* can have, in your own country, in your own home, in your own time—if you want them. Compare all these things to what you have. Then choose.

Show the uninformed people of the Old World the real America. Show them the factory worker's new automobile, and tell them the price of gas. Show them the farmer's radio. Show them the bathrooms, the central heating, the endless variety of foods in magnificent plenty. Show them the clothes, the entertainments, the homes, the free schools, the open libraries, the free churches, the uncensored magazines, the uncontrolled newspapers.

Show them the wage scales for workers of every kind. Show them the prices in relation to these wages—the prices for butter, for milk, for sweets, for white bread, for cake, for fresh meat, for fresh vegetables, for fruits.

Show them the telephones, the refrigerators, the washing machines, the electric lights, the farm power plants, the sanitary systems, the highways.

Show them our utter ignorance of fear in writing and saying what we please. Show them the Constitution, the Liberty Bell, Independence Hall. Show them the free and secret ballot. Show them all these things. Then ask them this: which of these do *you* have and enjoy?

And then, do what every American advertiser does so well—*go on,* and tell them how they can get these things, in their own country, in their own homes, in their own time. That would be a fifth-column operation the like of which the world has never seen.

Our America is not perfect, to be sure. We should be the first to admit it. But the fact that we *can* admit it, shout it to the heavens, is undeniable proof of how near we have come to such a perfection in human relations. But now is no time to be apologetic. We have forged a reality of the greatest idea of a free life for man the world has ever had. We are certain of it. Yet we do not do a single thing to give its goodness to the world!

We have been playing a garden hose on a conflagration. What we need, and need now, is a roaring back-fire!

C. P. HOLWAY,
Director of Public Relations,
the Cramer-Krasselt Company
Milwaukee, Wis., December 29

Exemption Can Be Waived

Dear Sirs: A recent ruling by the Illinois administrators of the Selective Service System may be of interest to your readers, especially to the clergymen and lawyers among them. It was called forth by my refusal to register because I could not conscientiously accept the automatic exemption from service which I, as a minister, was granted. After I was arrested and arraigned it was learned that numerous divinity students and young ministers in various parts of the country were restive under their cloaks of immunity. Many who did not choose to take the radical step of refusing to register were yet of one mind with me in believing it morally impossible for them to continue indefinitely to accept a protected status. The exemption clause had been secured by Roman Catholic lobbyists and is consistent with the Roman Catholic conception of the priesthood, but in the opinion of many Protestants it is a direct contradiction of that cardinal principle of the Reformation, the universal priesthood of all believers. Therefore Protestants of various denominations will find relief in the draft administrators' announcement:

> The Selective Service System has no desire to force a minister of religion or a theological student to accept automatic deferment by being placed in Class 4-d simply because the Selective Service law entitles them to that deferment. In case any registrant entitled to such specific deferment wishes to waive being classified in Class 4-d, he can accomplish his desire by making an appropriate notation in the "Registrant's Statement Regarding Classification" section, on the middle of page 7 of the questionnaire. . . .

Those who waive this "privilege" will obtain a "right," namely, that of serving as any other citizen in the military program of the government or securing classification as conscientious objectors if conscription and war are contrary to their principles.

If the precedent set by the Illinois board's action and approved by Director Clarence Dykstra is followed in all other states, the government will be spared much futile friction with the Protestant churches, and the churches will be free to practice their understanding of the Christian faith—that God teaches men his will by incarnating himself.

HOWARD SCHOMER
Chicago, December 19

Council of the Emigration

Dear Sirs: A statement published in *The Nation* of December 14 by J. Alvarez del Vayo, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Spanish Republic, favoring the formation of a Central Council of the Emigration deserves careful attention. I take the liberty to offer a suggestion that applies to the many American groups and organizations that are dealing with the affairs of the nations that are victims of Hitlerism.

I think collaboration in a central body looking toward the solution of their main problems would add greatly to their effectiveness. All the arguments which Mr. Del Vayo advances in favor of his proposal apply with equal strength to this suggestion. It is true that some of the committees in question may have

special nationality problems, but the defeat of the Axis powers is their main objective, and in their effort toward this aim they may well unite.

It is obvious that people in this country would get a much more accurate picture of what is going on if all the groups in this country representing the nationalities oppressed by Hitler—including democratic Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Chinese—could become more closely associated. How about starting the activities of such a Central Committee with a manifestation on January 30, 1941, the anniversary of Hitler's coming to power?

MARTIN M. FARBER

New York, December 31

Dear Sirs: I am unable to understand what the Central Council of the Emigration proposed by Señor Del Vayo could do at the present time. Even if it were composed only of those men from the different European countries who have a record of struggle and a courageous view of the European situation, it should consist of at least one man for each European country—that is, of at least a dozen members, if we stop at Central and Western Europe. Each one would handle the problems of his own country and would have to accept the solution the others would elaborate for the problems of their own countries. And then what? Who in America can prepare revolt in Europe? Perhaps something might be done for Spain. But what about the countries which are controlled by the Axis?

I think that the first step should be to form as many societies as countries. Each society should work for a given country according to its lights and possibilities. When those societies have been created, a common council might be set up as a clearing house. But if the first basis is lacking, no central council would be of any avail.

G. SALVEMINI

Cambridge, Mass., December 27

On Making America Produce

Dear Sirs: The articles printed in *The Nation* of December 7 under the title Make America Produce were interesting and provocative. The totalitarian success in getting things done is an effective challenge to capitalist economy which will have to be met, one way or another.

Both Mr. Straus and Mr. Noyes say, in effect, that momentous sacrifices will have to be made. They offer previews of state control and collectivism in the form of superstructures added to our industrial economy. Many people will deny that a vast extension of state control could be worked democratically. Many will doubt the practicability of the regulatory taxation which Mr. Noyes advocates. Taxes, even if related to defense, will continue to be a focal point of resistance. The government might possibly succeed in regimenting industry, but our basic economic problem, the disproportionate distribution of wealth, would remain. It *will* remain, under our present system, as long as profit continues to be arrived at as percentage over cost. This method of arriving at profit is possibly the fundamental flaw in the capitalist economy. Were we to compute profit as a percentage upon pay rolls, capitalism might be preserved more or less intact. If employment became the basis of profit, production would acquire a new exuberance. Furthermore, capital and labor, at long last, would be yoked together and headed in the same direction.

There are profound reasons why we must review the situation with detachment. We ought to know that money power can and will thwart regulatory taxation. And planning boards, competent or otherwise, would be impossibly burdensome. Also let us not forget that consumer habits resist "freezing." Change in buying habits is "of the essence," and freedom of choice will last as long as democracy survives.

When Mr. Straus says "we" must delegate authority to command production, regulate it, decide from hour to hour what we will do with our goods, *by the democratic process*, he implies that business interests are something apart from the body politic. Thus he fails to face the real issue, which is: How many of us are pro and how many con?

The "profit motive," as we have known it, "does not," Mr. Straus says, "make men produce enough"; and he predicts that non-production based on bookkeeping reasons, will be ruled out. "We" are to effect this by rationalizing and extending the methods of the New Deal, an accomplishment possible, according to Mr. Straus, "under the fear of war." But is it true that the fear of war will render entrepreneurs amenable, that the "bleatings of business" will subside? Will the war scare override capitalistic interests and make them submissive to state control?

Mr. Straus declares, "There is no good reason why powers held to be necessary in the public interest cannot be democratically conferred, democratically controlled, and, if necessary, democratically revoked." If that is an academic exposition of the powers of democracy we must agree, but to put it to the pragmatic test we are compelled to ask, "By whom?"

EMORY L. KING

Ridgefield Park, N. J., December 26

First Aid to Nazism

Dear Sirs: It occurs to me that your readers might be interested in the following telegram which I have just sent:

Mark O. Prentiss, America First Committee, New York

I have your invitation to cooperate with your America First Committee. I see nothing you can hope to accomplish except to make certain of bringing war to America. You should call yourselves America First Aid to Nazism. I will not cooperate with you. I am for "America the Arsenal of Democracy."

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pasadena, Cal., December 30

CONTRIBUTORS

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, has just published "Night Over Europe: The Diplomacy of Nemesis."

LAWRENCE DENNIS, editor of the *Weekly Foreign Letter*, is the author of "The Coming American Fascism" and "The Dynamics of War and Revolution."

MAX LERNER, professor of political science at Williams College, is the author of "It Is Later Than You Think" and "Ideas Are Weapons."

C. B. BOUTELL is on the staff of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

ELIOT JANEWAY has written extensively on economic subjects for *Harper's*, *The Nation*, and other magazines.

JAMES ORRICK was for many years on the staff of the Oxford University Press.

E. S. FORGOTSON has contributed to the *Southern Review* and other publications.

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JANUARY 18, 1941 NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

CONTINUED GREEK VICTORIES IN ALBANIA, British successes in Africa, and President Roosevelt's message have stiffened the Balkan's spine to resist Nazi demands. In a public address delivered Sunday Premier Philoff reaffirmed his government's determination to keep out of the war, but pledged resistance in case his country was attacked. The possibility that Bulgaria might keep this pledge was considerably strengthened by the promise of a high Turkish official that Turkey would declare war if German troops crossed the Rumanian frontier into Bulgaria. Added significance was given to the Turkish statement by the announced initiation of consultations between the Turkish and British military and air staffs. Not unrelated was the [illegible] by *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, of [illegible] had received or obtained consent for the entry [illegible] Bulgaria. *Tass* also stated that [illegible] resistance against German [illegible] Turkey to